

Shamir stands firm on Lebanon demands

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir brought no major new Israeli concessions on the Lebanese troop withdrawal negotiations to his meeting yesterday with Secretary of State George Shultz, well-placed American officials said.

Instead, the officials said, Shamir reviewed in considerable detail Israel's longstanding conditions, including a demand for an Israeli military presence in Southern Lebanon, and fixed observation posts.

"There were no major changes," one U.S. official said, discounting earlier Israeli reports that Shamir was bringing a more flexible position. The officials said they were not necessarily disappointed, because they had not really expected any major changes.

Israeli officials made it clear that any negotiations on the outstanding issues would take place directly between Israel and Lebanon, and not with the U.S. They noted that Israel would have to live in the area with Lebanon, and not with America.

But U.S. officials still hoped that today's second round of discussions might elicit a more forthcoming position — one that could advance the negotiations.

Shamir emerged from more than four hours of discussion with Shultz to tell waiting reporters that the session had been "very good." He repeated his earlier assertion that the major purpose of his trip to Washington is "to coordinate" U.S.-Israeli views.

"There is no doubt that there is a

large degree of identity of our views and goals about this problem," he said. "We are very interested to leave Lebanon — to evacuate our army from Lebanon — as soon as possible."

The problem, Shamir continued, is that the Lebanese army would not be able to "control the security of its territory with its own forces for several months. Therefore, it is our conviction that there must be close cooperation between us and Lebanon to achieve these goals, and we hope that by our discussions with the U.S. government — discussions that will continue tomorrow — we will find agreed and acceptable solutions."

In response to questions, Shamir said it would only become clear today whether he would meet President Ronald Reagan before returning to Jerusalem.

He also insisted that "it is not very important" that he meets directly with visiting Lebanese Foreign Minister, Elie Salem, noting that Israel and Lebanon have been holding direct negotiations for over two months.

Israeli officials later said that Shultz had mostly listened and asked questions during the first round of talks. They said the major areas reviewed included a detailed presentation of Israel's security problems in South Lebanon, as well as the future state of Israeli-Lebanese relations.

According to the Israeli officials, Shamir explained that the PLO could be expected to return to Lebanon if the IDF were to leave too quickly.

At the beginning and the end of (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

'Break-in bid would not reach Temple'

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The latest finds being studied yesterday at the Temple Mount archaeological site related to a period only three days old — the Night of the Zealots — when a subterranean breakthrough into the Temple Mount was allegedly attempted from the excavation site by Jewish religious nationalists.

A broken grill covering a trench near the double gate in the southern wall of the mount and a chipped wall at the sealed entrance to a tunnel beneath the triple gate were apparent indications of the break-in attempt.

Archaeologist Meir Ben-Dov, in charge of restoration work at the site, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that neither break-in would have led anyone into the Temple Mount — at least not in a night's efforts. The trench was an apparent drainage ditch that stopped 15 metres short of the wall. The tunnel beneath the triple gate did apparently lead into the Temple Mount — Ben-Dov believes it was used by priests during Temple times for their own access — but it would take months of excavations to clear the blocked passage, he said.

Five of the 38 persons arrested on Thursday were apprehended adjacent to the Temple Mount wall in the excavation site. The rest were arrested in the Jewish Quarter 700 metres to the west.

Engineers of the Moslem Wakf — the religious trust — visited the site yesterday to examine the signs of the alleged break-in attempt and asked that a cistern near the wall be sealed. Ben-Dov, who said he would comply, said the cistern offered no access to the Temple Mount, but (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick arrives yesterday at Jerusalem's King David Hotel, escorted by Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir. (Rahamin Israeli)

Ministers angry over Aridor's strike conduct

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

Cabinet ministers expressed considerable resentment yesterday at what they called Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's inflexibility over the doctors' strike.

Their resentment was compounded by Aridor's prolonged absence abroad during the crisis and at what they feel was his sides "high handed" management of the strike.

Ministers criticized what they described as "the large-scale and indiscriminate issuance of back-to-work orders" (which were never enforced, even though they were

defied) and which were then rescinded in "an ignominious climb-down." Some blamed Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir for this fiasco.

Ministers said that in future, back-to-work orders would be far harder to issue and enforce, because of the precedent set by the doctors' strike. Should future orders be challenged in court, ministers told Zamir, the government would have a hard time defending the credibility lost over the orders issued to the doctors.

Everyone who spoke at the cabinet meeting agreed that it had (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Cabinet sees W. Bank unrest as 'temporary'

Jerusalem Post Staff

The latest wave of stone-throwing and demonstrations in Judea and Samaria is seen in the cabinet as a short-lived upsurge of unrest linked to external developments such as the Jimmy Carter visit, the Palestine National Council meeting, and the Non-Aligned conference in New Delhi.

Five Israelis and an Arab boy were hurt in West Bank violence yesterday (Report, page 2).

Most ministers do not see the unrest as a new dimension, and agree with Defence Minister Moshe Arens that the security authorities have a sufficient range of counter-measures at their disposal to put down the trouble within a matter of days.

In a survey of recent West Bank disturbances, Arens said that he could understand the feelings of Israeli settlers when they faced the sort of harassment they had encountered over the past few days. But there was no question of giving the settlers a new and larger role in security than they had already.

Arens said that life in Judea and Samaria was "not always comfortable" for the settlers.

Ministers said that the defence minister "chose his words circumspectly" and did not indicate that he had any new or dramatic solutions to what is a recurring problem.

Arens said that although the IDF could take harsher measures in Judea and Samaria, it would not do so, because that would be a departure from its moral norms.

Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i urged that Israel should "take political initiatives regarding the West Bank." He said that Israel was always "reacting to initiatives taken by others such as President Ronald Reagan, or to changes of atmosphere generated by King Hussein."

Moda'i said: "We alone initiate nothing."

He called for the convening of the Ministerial Committee on Autonomy — of which he is a member — to consider new Israeli initiatives.

Moda'i noted that Carter had advocated the unilateral implementation of the Israeli autonomy proposals as a way of breaking the ice.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy frowned on Moda'i's proposals.

NEWS ANALYSIS/David Richardson

More protest days ahead

Senior military sources anticipate that the current level of violence on the West Bank will continue until the end of April, focussing on traditional days of protest which last year saw more than 15 persons killed in clashes with security forces. But the sources warn that unlike last year's unrest, the recent pattern of vigilante action by Jewish settlers could provoke more serious outbreaks of violence and even terrorist actions.

The almost daily reports of stone-throwing attacks on Israeli military and civilian traffic have been a feature of the West Bank for almost six months. Collective punishments, such as curfews and local "closures" and the welding of stores are ineffective in many cases, military sources acknowledge, stressing at the same time that in any case they are reluctant to employ these indiscriminately. But given the constraints most of the commanders willingly operate under, they have little other recourse.

The recent upsurge in the level of violence has a number of causes, according to both military and local Palestinian sources, although the order of importance is diametrically opposed. For the army officers and security personnel involved, the recent PNC congress in Algiers revived nationalist passions in the area, particularly among the youth.

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, in one of his final speeches at the council, paid tribute to the "RPG kids" who fought against the IDF in Lebanon last summer and to the "rock kids" who are at the forefront of the "Palestinian resistance" in the territories, one source recalled.

These military sources also intimate (although for their own reasons of security are unwilling to prove the point) that pro-PLO agitators in the area receive and allocate money for stirring up students to raise the Palestinian flag, erect roadblocks, burn tyres and hurl stones. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Two ambushes in Lebanon wound nine IDF soldiers

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Nine IDF men were wounded yesterday in Lebanon in two separate incidents.

Two border policemen were injured last night when light arms fire was directed at the vehicle in which they were travelling four kilometres north of Tyre in Southern Lebanon.

They were evacuated by helicopter to Rambam Hospital in Haifa. Security forces combed the area after the ambush.

Seven soldiers wounded earlier in a terrorist ambush north of Sidon were reported recuperating after surgery at the Rambam Hospital.

They were wounded when they walked into an ambush on the coastal highway to Beirut between Sidon and Damour. Reuter yesterday reported that eyewitnesses said the attack occurred at an Israeli checkpoint near the town of Jiyeh. Israeli spokesmen would not

comment on the exact circumstances of this attack, other than to say that an Israeli patrol was fired on with automatic weapons and a rifle grenade.

The Israeli position returned fire, and one of the attackers was reportedly injured, but all managed to escape in a car.

Israeli forces sealed off the Beirut-Sidon highway for most of yesterday as searches for the assailants were made. The IDF would not say whether any arrests had been made.

Menachem Horowitz reports from Beirut:

The Syrians yesterday shelled an IDF fortification on the eastern front in Lebanon. It was the first breach of the cease-fire between the two sides in several months. No one was injured and no damage was caused.

Socialists seen recovering in France

PARIS (AP). — After suffering a stiff setback in the first round of municipal elections last week, the left appeared to be making a comeback yesterday with early projections showing them winning in a number of major cities against the centre-right opposition. Television predictions im-

mediately after the close of voting said: veteran socialist Interior Minister Gaston Defferre would retain control of Marseille, the second largest city, where he has been mayor for 30 years.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy is expected to win in the industrial capital of Lille.

Mugabe won't make deal with Nkomo in London

LONDON (Reuters). — Zimbabwe opposition leader Joshua Nkomo arrived in Britain yesterday and a confidant of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe promptly ruled out negotiations to coax him back.

Nkomo, who fled from Zimbabwe to Botswana last Tuesday, said he wanted to make a deal with Mugabe for his safe return and a settlement of political violence in his homeland.

But Zimbabwe's Information Minister, Nathan Shamuyarira, who also came to London yesterday, said he would not meet Nkomo and there could be no talks unless the 65-year-old leader of the Zapu party returned home.

The minister told a news conference that Nkomo, known as the father of Zimbabwe nationalism,

would be safe and free if he returned. But he added: "meaningful discussions with Mr. Nkomo can only take place in Harare, nowhere else. We do not think that meaningful assurances can be given in foreign lands."

Nkomo, on his arrival, said he would not return until he received face-to-face assurances from a Zimbabwe government minister that his life would not be threatened.

Nkomo had alleged that Mugabe sent troops to kill him and said he fled Zimbabwe because his life was in danger.

But Mugabe, who defeated Nkomo in elections when the former breakaway colony of Rhodesia gained independence three years ago, denied the accusation.

New C-o-S to be named soon; three generals in the running

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

Defence Minister Moshe Arens will announce Israel's next chief of staff "within a few days," according to senior Defence Ministry sources. The announcement will come only after Prime Minister Menachem Begin and the cabinet have been informed of, and approved, Arens' choice.

But this does not mean that Rafael Eitan's successor will not be named before next Sunday's cabinet meeting, and the announcement could come as early as tomorrow. "There have been special cabinet sessions for lesser reasons," the source said.

There are three main candidates for the position: Deputy Chief of Staff Aluf (Major General) Moshe Levi; former O.C. Northern Com-

mand Aluf Avigdor Ben-Gal, and former O.C. Southern Command, Aluf Dan Shomron.

Defence Ministry sources avoided saying who the minister's choice would be, though they did not deny that a choice has been made. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned that the choice was made on Friday.

Observers think Shomron, who was former defence minister Ariel Sharon's preferred candidate, is out of the running, though he may be named O.C. Military Intelligence, replacing Yehoshua Saguy, who was dismissed in line with the Kahan Commission's recommendations.

It has been reliably learned that Levi is Arens' choice, but no official confirmation could be obtained last night. Levi, who was born in Iraq (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Conference on Soviet Jewry opens tomorrow

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter
and Agencies

The collective call of 1,300 voices for the release of Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate will be issued at the Jerusalem World Conference on Soviet Jewry, which opens officially tomorrow night at Binyanei Ha'uma — two weeks before Pessah, the Festival of Freedom.

Delegations and representatives from dozens of western countries have arrived for the three-day event. Among the most prominent is

U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick, who is leading the American delegation and who will present a videotaped message of support and greetings from President Ronald Reagan. Kirkpatrick, on her first visit to Israel, arrived yesterday by special jet.

She told reporters at Ben-Gurion Airport that Reagan had sent her as his personal representative "because the plight of Soviet Jewry is important to the people and the government of the United States, who fervently believe in the right of peoples to emigrate."

Also scheduled to take part are Simone Veil, former president of the European Parliament; Flora McDonald, former Canadian foreign minister; New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean; Greville Janner, MP, president of the British Board of Deputies; and former U.S. senator Frank Church. Nobel Prize winners, scientists, lawyers and clergymen from abroad are also taking part, together with over 300 Israelis — half of them Russian immigrants.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson, under-secretary of state at the Department

of Education, will represent the British government. *The Jerusalem Post's* London correspondent reports.

Messages of support for the aims of the conference have been sent by Premier Margaret Thatcher, and Labour leaders Michael Foot and Denis Healey.

A nine-member delegation of American Jewish organizational leaders, headed by American Jewish Committee president Maynard Wishner, has arrived after 10 days of unofficial discussions (Continued on Page 3)

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COPENHAGEN	1	14	34 57	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	1	10	34 49	Cloudy
GENEVA	0	12	32 54	Cloudy
HELSINKI	5	23	41 73	Cloudy
HONG KONG	10	28	50 82	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	unavailable			
LISBON	8	18	46 64	Cloudy
LONDON	7	15	45 59	Cloudy
MADRID	3	12	37 54	Cloudy
MONTREAL	0	12	32 54	Cloudy
NEW YORK	2	14	36 57	Cloudy
OSLO	1	10	34 49	Cloudy
PARIS	1	14	34 57	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	24	30	75 86	Cloudy
SÃO PAULO	23	30	73 86	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	2	12	36 54	Cloudy
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy with possibility of rain in evening.

Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	4-14	12
Golan	5-14	12
Nahariya	6-17	15
Safed	5-13	11
Hatifa Port	12-17	15
Tiberias	10-19	17
Nazareth	9-16	15
Afula	9-18	17
Shomron	9-15	13
Tel Aviv	8-18	16
B-G Airport	10-18	16
Jericho	10-22	20
Gaza	10-16	14
Beer-sheva	6-18	16
Eilat	12-25	23

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Prime Minister Menachem Begin last night addressed the closing banquet of the national assembly of the Jewish National Fund of America at the Laromme Hotel, Jerusalem.

The West German Ambassador and Mrs. Niels Hansen, and the Cultural Attache, Bernhard von der Planitz, yesterday attended a luncheon at Bar Ilan University at which they presented the university with a video system as a gift from the German government.

Jerusalem Rotary West will host the Rotary Club of Bad Godesberg, West Germany, at ladies' night at the King David Hotel at 8 o'clock tonight. Speaker will be Prof. Simon of the Guest Club, in English.

One-day strike by defence workers

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — Research workers at Defence Ministry establishments throughout the country staged a one-day strike yesterday in protest against the government's refusal to grant them the same pay as university academic staff.

A spokesman for the national works committee said their salaries were traditionally linked to those of the faculty, but had lagged behind following the recent university teachers pay awards.

He said they had been negotiating for parity for more than two months.

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HOME NEWS

Shots, rocks hurt six in more W. Bank violence

By DAVID RICHARDSON

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Three IDF soldiers and two Israeli civilians were injured by stones yesterday and a military vehicle was found apparently destroyed by arson as five West Bank refugee camps and two towns entered their fourth day under curfew. An Arab schoolboy was slightly wounded when settlers opened fire near El Bireh.

The shooting incident occurred near the settlement of Psagot, above the Arab town of El-Bireh. A bus of the Mateh Binyamin local council taking children to school at Beit-El was attacked by a crowd of schoolboys from the nearby Al-Mukhtarabin School.

Three settlers escorting the bus got off and chased the youths back towards the school, at least one of them firing his pistol. According to their report to police (who are investigating the incident) they found the wounded youth alongside the

school fence. Arab sources say that the settlers actually entered the school. The settlers were not detained. The youth was taken to a local hospital and police reported that his condition was good.

Military sources reported that a light army truck was found burned out near Tulkarm. It is suspected that the truck was stolen and then driven to the area, where it was set alight.

Several stores in the Ramallah and Hebron areas have been welded shut over the past three days as part of the army's drive to induce local residents — particularly merchants — to curb the stone-throwing in the area. Closed stores also reduce crowds, which makes controlling crowds and apprehending rioters that much easier.

Two soldiers were slightly injured by rocks in Tulkarm and Ramallah and another soldier and two civilians in the vicinity of Dahariya.

IDF's duty is to punish stone-throwers says Eitan

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — The IDF's duty is to catch and punish stone-throwers, Chief-of-Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan said yesterday.

He said: "The war with the Arabs started over 100 years ago with stones, and they are still fighting us with the same weapons."

Eitan, speaking to school children in Upper Nazareth, said that the unrest on the West Bank is an inseparable part of the battle for Israel's future.

Eitan said that the army has been taking part in the development of

Galilee by setting up military installations in this area.

He said that the IDF also plays a part in persuading sons of emigrants to return to their homeland. The project started two-and-a-half years ago when 29 such youngsters participated in a special army programme. Over 70 per cent of them remained in the country permanently.

Because of the success of this project, the IDF has built a new base to enable about 250 young Israelis living overseas to participate in an army programme this summer.

TEMPLE

(Continued from Page One)

could be used as a hiding place.

The 38 alleged participants in the would-be break-in came up for remand in the Jerusalem Magistrates Court in an extraordinary session that began shortly after the end of the Sabbath and ended at 3 a.m. yesterday. Most of the suspects, including Rabbi Yisrael Ariel — at whose home most were arrested — were remanded for six days. The alleged leader of the group, Haim Ben-Zion, was ordered held for 10 days.

Judge Avraham Ben-Hador said that if the takeover plan had succeeded it would have led to bloodshed. Ten of those arrested were uniformed soldiers — yeshiva students doing their compulsory army service. Most were from the Kiryat Arba Yeshiva.

Meanwhile, Interior Minister Yosef Burg yesterday denied reports that there had been a plot to assassinate him but said that threats against him had been received. In the wake of these threats early last week, a police guard was temporarily placed on his home.

Last Friday, Burg met Moslem leaders in East Jerusalem including Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din Alami, head of the Supreme Moslem Council, and Hassan Tahboub, head of the Wakf.

The minister assured them that any infraction of public order like the alleged Temple Mount operation, would be dealt with severely.

The Moslem authorities have apparently been reassured by the swift Israeli action.

There was a partial commercial strike in East Jerusalem yesterday and several groups of Arab youths tried unsuccessfully to enter the Temple Mount to stage demonstrations.

Burg yesterday reported to the cabinet on the attempt to break through to the Temple Mount. Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman urged that "statutory measures be instituted to enable Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount."

No other minister backed Ne'eman. The ministers agreed that the status quo with regard to the Temple Mount, as laid down in 1967, should not be changed.

Meanwhile in Kfar Sava, Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir told a meeting of local Bnei Akiva youth on Saturday night that those arrested on Thursday night allegedly attempting to settle on the Temple Mount should be brought to trial. He said that he was amazed that students at a yeshiva (one that combines study with IDF service) were involved.

SHAMIR STANDS FIRM

(Continued from Page One)

yesterday's marathon meeting. Shamir and Shultz met privately, without any of their aides present. But the bulk of the session consisted of an exchange involving the full U.S. and Israeli delegations.

Shultz began direct involvement in this new stage in the negotiations on Saturday, when he met for nearly two hours with the Lebanese foreign minister, who is scheduled to return to the State Department this morning.

U.S. Israeli and Lebanese officials said there is no intention of arranging a three-way meeting in Washington or to establish indirect, proximity talks here. Direct, face-to-face negotiations, they said, would later resume in Israel and Lebanon.

Thus, Shultz, in an interview yesterday with *The Washington Post*, sought to lower expectations of any imminent breakthrough.

Shultz said he has no intention of

replacing special envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper as the principal U.S. mediators in the effort.

Salem made it clear to Shultz that he does not want to meet with Shamir in Washington. The Lebanese ambassador here, Khalil Itani, said flatly: "There will be only bilateral meetings with the Americans."

Former Lebanese prime minister Saeb Salam, a Moslem who had served as an intermediary in the negotiations to remove the PLO and Syrian forces from West Beirut last September, has arrived in Washington to join Salem, a Christian, in the talks with Shultz.

Shultz confirmed that it was his idea to invite the Lebanese foreign minister to Washington after Israel had initiated the Shamir visit. "We thought we should be sure that the same people who were exposed to the Israeli view of the situation also hear directly from the Lebanese... whatever they wish to tell us."

State says Lebanon factory seizure legal

The State Attorney's office yesterday asked the High Court of Justice to reject a Lebanese industrialist's petition for an injunction against the IDF, which has confiscated his factory.

The industrialist, Raymond al-Nawah, bought the plastics plant, near Damour in Southern Lebanon, from Palestinians at the end of the fighting in Lebanon.

The state's attorney, asking that the petition be rejected, said that the IDF, having finished the military battle against the Palestine Liberation Organization in

Lebanon, was continuing the struggle by destroying the organization's economic infrastructure.

The capture of PLO property — even property not of direct military use — should be seen as a step in the struggle against the terrorists, the state argued.

Because of the complicated nature of the case, in which the court is for the first time being asked to rule on IDF activities outside Israel, the case will be heard by a bench of five judges. The state offered no objection to the granting of an interim injunction. (Itm)

Kohl's party triumphs in Schleswig-Holstein

KIEL (AP). — The conservative party of Chancellor Helmut Kohl appeared headed for victory in state elections in Schleswig-Holstein yesterday.

Little more than an hour after the polls closed at 17:00 GMT, both television channels said that the CDU would have 39 seats in the new 74-seat assembly, the SPD 34 seats and the Danish minority SSW party probably one seat.

This compared with 37 seats for the CDU in the last 73-seat assembly, 31 for the SPD, four for the FDP and one for the SSW. The small Free Democratic party, Kohl's coalition partner in Bonn, was shut out of the Schleswig-Holstein parliament, scoring only a little more than 2 per cent of the vote, where 5 per cent is required for representation. (AP, Reuters) (Earlier report — Page 4)

Jemayel tells Israel to ease pressure on Beirut

Post Mideast Affairs Reporter

and agencies

Pierre Jemayel, founder of the Christian Phalange Party in Lebanon and father of President Amin Jemayel, has warned Israel not to press for normalization of relations with his country at the present time.

In an interview published in the latest issue of the Beirut English-language weekly *Monday Morning*, Jemayel noted that his advice to the Israelis "applies to everything — to the proposed Israeli representative's office (in Lebanon), to open borders, to everything."

All these matters have to be discussed, he added, "but not in the present atmosphere," suggesting that they best be dealt with "maybe after several months, maybe after several years."

Jemayel's dampener on Israel's current demands in the ongoing talks with Lebanon for normalization of relations between the two countries follows an emphatic rejection of these demands by Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem at the Non-Aligned summit in New Delhi last week.

MINISTERS

(Continued from Page One)

been a "mistake" in the first place to issue orders to the striking doctors.

The bitterest complaint came, not unexpectedly, from Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, who said his hands were completely tied by Aridor so that he could not do anything at all to alleviate the public's suffering. "What am I supposed to do about the doctors?" Shostak asked sarcastically. "Stand to attention and sing the Marseillaise?"

Other ministers complained that Aridor dominated the wage picture so totally that none of them had any discretion or room for maneuver in their various specific fields. One of them used the term "inadmissible centralization of authority in one man's hands." Another said: "Aridor has killed all ministerial initiative."

Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i announced: "I shall fight to the utmost against this trend."

However, ministers do not expect Aridor to knuckle under on his expected return tonight from the Far East, merely because of the wave of criticism from his colleagues.

Ministers predicted that the country would "have to live with the strike for much longer, because Aridor will not agree to deviate from the Treasury's fundamental wage policy."

Ministers told *The Jerusalem Post* that, whereas the finance minister would entertain flexible formulas for the doctors or some categories of doctors, the "mean wage increase for all doctors' sectors taken together must not be allowed to exceed the increase for other government employees."

The cabinet is to resume its discussion of the doctors' strike after Aridor returns.

Meanwhile, Moda'i yesterday persuaded the cabinet to refer to the Ministerial Committee on Legislation a proposal for a compulsory arbitration law for wage disputes in essential services. He had reminded his colleagues that the coalition agreement called for such legislation.

NEW CoS

(Continued from Page One)

and rose through the ranks in the paratroops, is known as an extremely thorough general. His one disadvantage compared with the other candidates is that he has never commanded a large military formation in wartime. He had extensive experience with the administered territories, when, as O.C. Central Command, he was responsible for Judea and Samaria.

Arens is thought to prefer a low-key competent organizer over either Ben-Gal or Shomron, who are controversial figures in the IDF.

Shomron and incumbent Eitan are not on good terms, and it can be assumed that Eitan did not recommend him to the minister, while Ben-Gal stirred up a great deal of controversy as O.C. Northern Command, by pursuing an often independent course in handling events in Southern Lebanon.

It is believed that Shomron and Ben-Gal would have better advocated the army's cause with the defence minister, while Levi will be subservient to the minister, which is, perhaps, precisely the reason Arens finally opted for Levi.

Eilat port idle for two weeks

EILAT (Itm). — The first ship to berth at Eilat port for two weeks, Zim's "Singapore" will arrive here today.

Stevedores have in the interim been carrying out repair work at the docks.

Shultz again prods Hussein to join peace negotiations

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Secretary of State George Shultz, in a *Washington Post* interview, has again prodded Jordan's King Hussein to join the broader Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.

"Basically," he said, "I think it's time to move. I don't want to set a deadline or anything like that, but I think there has been a great deal of discussion. I don't know that there are more facts to be found."

Shultz, who declined to discuss the implications of the PLO's recent meeting in Algiers, said in yesterday's interview: "For this move into the peace process to be successful, first King Hussein has to want to do it. Second, I think everyone recognizes that there must be a Palestinian delegation. ... We know it can be constructed. You can think of people."

Appearing yesterday on CBS's *Face the Nation*, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger denied

that the U.S. had already promised to provide Jordan with new advanced anti-aircraft missiles or fighter aircraft if Hussein should join the peace talks.

"No," Weinberger replied. "There is no way that anybody could informally promise anything that requires the approval of the Congress. We have told him, as indeed I think we should, that we agree basically with the idea that they do need more modern weapons, that they do need air defence weapons."

"They're threatened on a number of sides, as they see it, by a number of countries, including Syria and Iran, and they do have genuine validated military needs for more air defence and more weapons to protect their country. We've told them that we understood that and agreed with that. But nobody can promise him anything because that's up to Congress."

Hussein to head Arab League visit to London

LONDON (Reuters). — King Hussein of Jordan will replace King Hassan of Morocco as leader of an Arab League peace mission to London next Friday, the British Foreign Office said yesterday.

But the Foreign Office could give no reason for the change, which official sources said came as a surprise.

The visit has been postponed several times, plagued by difficulties over the question of Palestinian representation.

Britain has consistently refused to accept a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the delegation, which will include the foreign ministers of several Arab states.

Egypt, Israel today renew talks on normalizing trade

Post Mideast Affairs Reporter

Israeli and Egyptian negotiators are today to renew their talks on normalizing commercial relations between their two countries, in the main frozen following last June's invasion of Lebanon.

A spokesman for the Egyptian Foreign Ministry was quoted as saying yesterday that the talks would open at 11.30 this morning in Giza, on the southern outskirts of Cairo.

An unidentified Israeli source was quoted by the Associated Press in a dispatch from Cairo as saying that the agenda would include implementation of existing trade and commercial agreements and perhaps new trade protocols.

Egypt's delegation was expected to be headed by Ahmad Wafaeeddin, first undersecretary at the Economics Ministry, and the Israeli delegation by Avraham Asheri, director-general of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Resumption of the normalization

talks follows the renewal of negotiations on the disputed Taba area south of Eilat earlier this month and marks a perceptible improvement in relations between the two countries, severely strained by the war in Lebanon.

The thaw in relations has been attributed partly to American efforts, but probably also owes something to the sharp snub Egypt received at last month's Palestine National Congress meeting in Algiers.

The PNC meeting made any rapprochement between Egypt and the PLO, and hence the bulk of the Arab world, dependent on Cairo's renunciation of its peace treaty with Israel.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak last week condemned the PNC resolution as "reckless, illogical and unrealistic," insisting that Egypt would remain committed to peace with Israel and all relevant agreements — "including normalization."

Carter for Riyadh after seeing Hussein

AMMAN (Reuters). — Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter arrived in Amman yesterday for a visit, during which he will meet King Hussein and Crown Prince Hassan, the official Jordanian news agency Petra said.

Carter arrived in Jordan on the third leg of a Middle Eastern visit which has already taken him to Egypt and Israel. After Jordan, Carter will visit Saudi Arabia and Syria.

Aridor leaves Tokyo for doctors' talks

Post Economic Reporter

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor yesterday met his Japanese counterpart in Tokyo for talks on "the deepening of economic relations between the two countries."

Sources at the Treasury told *The Jerusalem Post* that the ministry attaches economic and political im-

portance to the meeting, the first of its kind for 15 years.

After the meeting, Aridor left for Israel where he is expected tonight to take part in negotiations with the striking doctors. Aridor was originally not expected back until Friday, but advanced his return to lead the Treasury team dealing with the doctors' strike.

DOCTORS

(Continued from Page One)

ties" opened yesterday, with the Treasury declaring that one out of every five doctors grossed over \$100,000 last month, according to its figures.

The IMA labelled this a "malicious distortion" and noted that high salaries, where they exist, are the result of hundreds of hours of overtime, night-duty shifts and standby duty.

Meanwhile, the "verbal warfare" between the IMA and the Histadrut's Kupat Holim Clalit escalated, with sharp exchanges over the sick fund's refusal to fill prescriptions issued by the striking doctors.

IMA chairman Dr. Ram Ishai warned Kupat Holim that it was "endangering the lives of its members" by refusing to give them the medicines prescribed by doctors working in the temporary medical centres.

The sick fund retorted angrily: "How can a man who stood upon the stage at the Mann Auditorium last week and called upon doctors to break the law presume to instruct us about morality?" This was a reference to Ishai's call to doctors last Tuesday not to comply with the back-to-work orders which had been issued to 40 per cent of their number that day.

The Kupat Holim spokesman added last night that the sick fund was trying to protect its members from possible errors that could be made

by doctors who do not have access to a patient's medical records. Kupat Holim Clalit has consistently refused to fill prescriptions not written out on forms obtained from the sick fund. It has also refused to perform laboratory tests ordered by doctors working in the temporary medical centres if the instructions are not written on a regular sick fund form.

The Histadrut yesterday criticized the government's arrangement with the striking doctors because it failed to provide for some reactivation of Kupat Holim clinics.

The arrangement provided for the cancellation of the back-to-work orders in return for an increase of the number of doctors on duty in hospitals.

Addressing the Histadrut central committee's weekly meeting, Israel Kassar, chairman of the Trade Union Department, said the agreement means the government has tacitly put up with the doctors practice of charging \$600 for their services.

WEST BANK

(Continued from Page One)

These sources noted that the next 40 days include traditional days of protest, such as Land Day (March 30), the anniversary of the Dir Yassin massacre (April 9), Palestinian prisoner day (April 17), Israel Independence Day (April 18) and the anniversaries of the foundation of several Palestinian organizations associated with the PLO.

The appointment of a new defence minister and last week's visit of former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, who in the eyes of the Palestinians bears most of the "blame" for the Camp David accords, also generated tension.

Many Palestinians stress, however, that the most irritating factors in the current unrest are the partially unsolved attacks on local Arabs, which are widely seen as the work of Jewish settlers in the area.

"Every time I go back to Ramallah at night, I am really scared that I am going to meet a group of settlers," an acquaintance in East Jerusalem said last week. Reports that settlers enter schools, shoot indiscriminately, and beat children suspected of stone-throwing, and their mothers if they try to protect them, are widely circulated and entirely believed, even if not substantiated. "For us there is a strong tinge of fear associated with the word 'moustaween' (settlers)," a Ramallah resident said.

Some West Bankers candidly concede, that they find the attitude of the soldiers charged with security in the area not as tough as it was or as they anticipated. "In similar unrest during (former defence minister Ariel) Sharon's time, we would have had many more martyrs," an East Jerusalem newspaperman said yesterday.

But the distinction between settlers that the army and Israeli public make does not wash with many Palestinians in the West Bank, at least not those in areas where most of the confrontations take place. Police have arrested a number of people associated with Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach movement for alleged involvement in shooting incidents in Hebron where most of the clashes have been reported. But the town's Arab residents say the potential for violence and the unpleasantness in attitude is just as real among other settlers, who by-and-large follow Rabbi Moshe Levinger who spearheaded the re-establishment of a Jewish presence in the town.

Tami holds the key to presidential election

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The three-member Tami list will formally decide at the weekend whether to support the coalition's candidate for president, Supreme Court Justice Menahem Elon, or the opposition's candidate, MK Chaim Herzog. Their decision may help clear the political fog in which, as things stand now, the presidential race is neck-and-neck.

The coalition, with 64 out of the 120 Knesset seats, must make sure that on the secret ballot in the house on March 22 it does not lose more than three votes due to defections. The opposition must make sure that all its 56 MKs vote for Herzog and that it lures away five coalition votes. An absolute majority — more than half the members (61 votes) — is needed to win in the first round, but only a simple majority — more than the votes of the other side — will suffice for victory in the second ballot.

Contributing to the uncertainty is that the outcome of a Knesset secret ballot can never be safely predicted.

Some MKs whose position was in some doubt clarified their stand yesterday, but Tami remains the biggest question mark.

Party leader MK Aharon Abuhatzira is one of the 12 coalition MKs who sponsored Elon's nomination, but he said yesterday that this does not formally bind him

party. The party executive will meet towards the end of the week to decide how to cast its vote.

He said that he would personally try to persuade the party to back Elon. Welfare Minister Aharon Uzan said there is considerable frustration in Tami ranks that the coalition did not even seriously consider the party's nominee, Beersheba Mayor Eliyahu Nawi. "Nevertheless, I am a coalition member," he said.

Abuhatzira yesterday dismissed talk from Labour quarters that Tami may be induced to support Herzog by its financial patron, millionaire Nissim Herzog's son is married to Gaon's daughter. But despite Abuhatzira's statement, Labour is still hopeful it can win the three Tami votes.

Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat, who at one time belonged with Herzog to the Rafi list, will probably also vote for Elon. Ben-Porat's Movement for Zionist Renewal formally advocated Elon and empowered Ben-Porat to vote for him.

Liberal MK Dror Zeigerman, one of the "Liberal mavericks" on whom Labour has been counting, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that he would vote for Elon and that he is not worried that Elon is religious. Zeigerman, who "believes in religious pluralism and mutual tolerance" considers Elon a suitable candidate.



Striking taxi drivers demonstrate yesterday outside the Finance Ministry in Jerusalem. (Isaac Harari).

Taxis resume travels after protest

By YITZHAK OKED
and AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The country's 7,000 taxi drivers returned to the streets last night after staging a 12-hour warning strike yesterday, during which they were promised by the Finance Ministry that a committee would study their demand for an immediate 28.5 per cent increase in fares.

The taxi owners, it is reported, will give the ministry committee until Wednesday or Thursday to report. If there is no favourable report by then, it is believed that the drivers will hold a general strike.

A decision on the dispute is expected with Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's return tonight from abroad.

Gideon Talmor, Egged bus cooperative spokesman, called the work stoppage in the cooperative a complete failure with only about half of the hired workers taking part.

Finance Ministry Director-General Ezra Sadan yesterday had to cancel a tour of Jerusalem's industrial plants and miss a luncheon with the Manufacturers Association

when several hundred angry taxi drivers besieged his office and refused to let him leave the building.

The drivers, surrounded by a heavy police cordon, finally left after Deputy Finance Minister Haim Kaufman promised to set up the committee.

The drivers were also promised another committee yesterday — a joint Treasury-Transport Ministry body to study their request for subsidized loans for renewing fleets and paying insurance bills.

The drivers are also demanding reductions in customs for spare parts, as are given to other public transportation, and a freeze on the distribution of new taxi licences.

According to the Taxi Owners Organization officials, small numbers of drivers did not participate in the 7 a.m.-7 p.m. strike. Officials said they would be summoned to an internal court of the organization.

About 1,000 hired workers in Egged's southern region, including administration and office workers, reported for work as usual yesterday, despite a strike call.

Spokesman Tadmor reported that all of the cooperative's Sunday service operated yesterday, along with hundreds of chartered buses.

The hired workers strike was called to press demands for higher wages and better social benefits, including insurance policies, comparable to those enjoyed by cooperative members. They say this is crucial because drivers make daily trips to Lebanon.

Egged management has severed negotiations until the Hired Workers Committee orders a return to normal work and cancels its labour dispute. The committee has warned that if the management does not resume negotiations, they will call a general strike in about 10 days.

In Haifa, the work stoppage caused inconvenience for passengers, with the cancellation of some bus lines and delays on others. Worst hit were Haifa University students, with both the direct bus line and the shertut service (shared taxis) to the university cancelled.

Although the strike had little effect on transportation in the south, police reported violent incidents in three towns. A bus in Dimona had its windshield shattered, and two tires were slashed on buses in both Mitzpe Ramon and Yeroham.

Israel youth urged to help Falasha olim feel welcome

TEL AVIV. — B'nai B'rith's honorary president, William Wexler, yesterday called on Israeli youth to help absorb the 2,500 Falashas who have immigrated to Israel from Ethiopia in the last few years.

Speaking to several hundred members of the B'nai B'rith youth organization *Noar Lanoar*, Wexler described the Falashas in Israel as "very isolated," and urged his audience to contact them through local youth groups.

Other speakers were MK Mordechai Ben-Porat, on the problems of Jews in Arab and Islamic lands, Beersheba Mayor Eliyahu Nawi, on the Ethiopian Jews, and former Prisoner of Zion Yosef Mendelovich, on the Jews of the U.S.S.R.

WIZO assembly hears plea for oppressed Jews

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — While attention will be focused on Soviet Jewry this week, we should not forget the 20,000 Falashas, 4,000 Syrian Jews and other oppressed Jews elsewhere in the world, Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization chairman Arye Dulzin told delegates and guests yesterday at the opening of WIZO's convention.

Dulzin said that a major effort is needed to release Jews remaining in lands where they are oppressed and to bring them here.

President Yitzhak Navon said that there is no gap between word and deed in WIZO. That gap, where it does exist, is what has put Zionism into quotation marks, he said, and has created cynicism and disillusionment.

The convention, attended by over 350 delegates, will include reports on WIZO's work over the past four years, elections of new officers and resolutions to guide the organization's efforts in the coming years. It ends tomorrow afternoon.

Peres: IDF must stop West Bank incidents

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Labour Party leader Shimon Peres said here yesterday that the army must act to stop stone-throwing incidents on the West Bank. But he added, government policies were creating tension in the areas.

Peres, addressing pupils at the local Danziger High School, and students at the Tel Hai community college, also said that Rabbi Kahane's Kach movement had put itself outside the law and should be prosecuted, although not banned.

In contrast to his recent visits to this town, Peres was not confronted by anti-Labour demonstrators and hecklers. His audience listened politely.

Israeli Arabs aid Ein Hilwe refugees

EIN HILWE. — About 50 buildings to house school classrooms are being built here by the Committee of Israeli Arabs from the Galilee set up recently to aid Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Most of the existing school buildings in the refugee camp are being used as living quarters by people made homeless during the fighting last summer. The Committee of Israeli Arabs says it is being helped by the Israeli government: aid body headed by Minister of Economic Coordination Ya'acov Meridor, but is receiving no help from UNWRA, the United Nations relief body.

Police arrest 14 in raid on Rehovot brothel

REHOVOT (Itim). — Detectives arrested 14 people here yesterday in a raid on a brothel in the centre of town. Eleven men suspected of patronizing the establishment, two women suspected of operating it, and a wanted criminal also suspected of links with the brothel, are being held.

Police acted after receiving a number of complaints about the number of male visitors to the flat. A police spokesman said detectives yesterday morning saw "a nearly endless stream of men" entering and leaving the flat, before police began arresting them one by one as they left.

After the 11 suspected patrons were taken to police headquarters, officers entered the flat and arrested the two young women, one of whom the spokesman described as a known prostitute. The remaining male suspect, who was also arrested inside the flat, is wanted by police on a number of charges.

Posthumous awards for two artists

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Among the artists honoured yesterday by *Yediot Aharonot* with 1982 David's Harp Citations at Tel Aviv's Mann Auditorium were two young people who received the award posthumously.

They were actor Adi Ne'eman, who died in an asthma attack last December, aged 19, and dancer Timna Yeri, who died in the same month, aged 28.

While a high school student, Ne'eman acted in Habima's productions of *Shadow Box* and *The Dybbuk*, and more recently was male lead in the film *Noga* at 17.

Yeri danced with Bat Dor, with Batya Heller in the U.S. and, most recently, with the Kibbutz Dance Troupe.

Anti-war body condemns jailing of soldier

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Yesh Gvul (There's a Limit), the organization of soldiers against the war in Lebanon, yesterday condemned the detention for 21 days of reserve sergeant Uzi Beckel, who has refused to serve on the West Bank.

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Ports face disruption over union's pay claim

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Marine Officers' Union yesterday warned of trouble ahead for the country's ports and merchant navy, over the wage claims of 50 of its members in shore jobs. The men want special pay rates based on their maritime ranks. These would be in excess of the official 22 per cent wage rise throughout the economy.

Union secretaries Captain Ephraim Marcovitz and Chief Engineer Shlomo Elmor told a press conference that they would call strikes of the 17 port pilots, 18 maritime inspectors of the Transport Ministry and 15 instructors of the Seamen's Training Authority to back their demands for new wage agreements.

Haifa Rotary to mark its 50th anniversary

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Haifa Rotary Club — the country's largest with 114 members — will celebrate its jubilee tomorrow night at a festive meeting to be attended by the president of Rotary International, Dr. Hiroji Mukasa, a Japanese psychiatrist.

Club president Dr. Naftali Wydra told a press conference yesterday that when the club was founded 50 years ago it comprised British, Jewish and Arab members. Today it has Moslems, Christians and B'nai members in addition to the Jewish membership, which includes the city's Ashkenazi chief rabbi.

For its jubilee project the club is mounting a clean-up campaign at the municipal Dado Beach, which will continue throughout the swimming season with the help of Haifa schoolchildren.

'Sexist' grapefruit ad may be taken off TV

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel TV is likely to take the service advertisement to encourage grapefruit consumption off the air, after angry reactions from viewers offended by what they term its "sugarsiveness" and "exploitation of women."

The Broadcasting Authority's public service announcement committee, headed by Ahuva Meron, will discuss the advertisement, which was produced by the Citrus Marketing Board. The advertisement shows a bevy of bra-less young women wearing thin yellow T-shirts who urge the public, and particularly men, to buy grapefruits.

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Commercial Firms

David Eisen Machines Ltd.: Mon., March 14, 10.00 a.m.-1.30 p.m.: "Plasma Arc Cutting and Welding". R.D.T. Engineering and Electronics Ltd.: Tue., March 15 — 9.00 a.m.-4.00 p.m.: "Testing of Material Strengths". The study days will be held at the modern Congress Centre. Lectures will be given by scientists, research and development personnel from academic institutions, and renowned local and foreign experts.

Sports

Genius looking for new directions

BARCELONA (Reuters). — Argentine World Cup soccer star Diego Maradona returned to the Barcelona line-up but even his genius was not enough to provide a win for the Spanish club in their first match under the rule of Cesar Luis Menotti. The \$8.8m. player, out of the side for three months because of hepatitis, brilliantly laid on a goal after just three minutes, but Barcelona could manage only a 1-1 draw against Real Betis.

Maradona looked tired after his long convalescence but showed occasional sparks of genius. His team looked confused and their desperate efforts to score were capably checked by the tight Betis defence.

Menotti, who guided Argentina to victory in the 1978 World Cup, said: "I'll have to find out why they play with such urgency and insist on attacking through the centre when there are good wingers. They seem to think a straight line is the shortest way to the goal."

The ebullient chain-smoking Menotti has declared his aim to make the club — which has the largest following in Europe — known for their style rather than their money and scandals. "Unfortunately, Barcelona have been known so far for their scandals and money but not for their style. I intend to give them a specific style, as any great football team," he said.

Mac the knife

Post Sports Staff

Australian Peter McNamara scored a fine win by defeating Czech star Ivan Lendl last night to win the Belgian Open tennis final in Brussels. The Aussie whose game is sharper than ever at the moment was taken all the way by the young Czech, normally the master of the indoor game, but at the end of a tremendous battle Lendl was eventually cut down to size. The final score was 6-4, 7-6, 7-6, the third set tie-breaker going McNamara's way 7-4.

Lendl was on court only 18 hours after coming through another extended duel in which he upended the 18-year-old Swede Mats Wilander 7-6, 7-6 in the semi-finals.

Nick Saviano beat his fellow-American Chip Hooper 6-4, 4-6, 6-3 to capture the Laverie Grand Prix in France.

Martin Navratilova and Chris Evert Lloyd set themselves up for yet another exciting women's tennis battle for supremacy in the final of the tournament in Dallas. Navratilova stormed through her semi-final against Bettina Bunge, winning 6-2, 6-1. Lloyd had a much tougher day, edging out Pam Shriver 7-6, 6-7, 6-2.

Lloyd leads splendid recovery

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad (Reuters). — India collapsed against West Indies who were themselves jolted before recovering magnificently to go into a slender lead during the third day of the second cricket Test here.

Fast bowlers Malcolm Marshall, with a Test career best of five for 37, and Andy Roberts, who took three for 72, sent India tumbling from 131 for three to 175 all out. Amarnath was top scorer with 58. India hit back sensationally as new ball pair Kapil Dev and Balwinder Sandhu snapped up the first three West Indian wickets for one run before they were pulled out of trouble by captain Clive Lloyd and Larry Gomes.

By lunch on the third day Lloyd, unbeaten on 98 and Gomes still there with 72, had put the West Indies firmly in the driving seat. India 175; WI 128-3.

In Wellington, Sri Lanka bowlers performed creditably to dismiss New Zealand for only 201 on the third day of the second Test. In reply to the Sri Lankans' first innings total of 241. The visitors, however, were soon in trouble in their second innings and finished the day on 26-3.

HOCKEY VISIT

TEL AVIV. — Men and women teams from the Eintracht Frankfurt field hockey club were due here late yesterday, each to play two games against Israeli representative sides. The West German second league teams — whose visit is being organized by the Israel Hockey Association — play their first games on Wednesday with the return encounters on Saturday. All games are at the Tel Aviv University stadium.

Bossy jubilee

UNIONDALE, New York (AP). — Mike Bossy scored his 49th and 50th goals of the season to spark the New York Islanders to a 6-2 Saturday night National Hockey League victory over the Washington Capitals in a battle for second place in the Patrick Division.

In other NHL games the Pittsburgh Penguins topped the Hartford Whalers 7-2, the Quebec Nordiques breezed 6-3 past the Minnesota North Stars, the St. Louis Blues clipped the Detroit Red Wings 2-1, and the New York Rangers split a 1-1 decision with the Calgary Flames.

Straight down the middle and on top

ORLANDO, Fla. (AP). — While golf's more glamorous names fell away, longshot Mike Nicolette placidly put together a windblown 71 and stretched his lead to an impressive six strokes in the third round of the \$350,000 Bay Hill classic here.

SPORTOTO DIVIDENDS: 61 persons forecast all 13 matches correctly on the weekend football pools coupon and as a result each player won a bonus of \$214,758. To view correct picks call 1-800-777-1111 or 1-800-333-1111.

Kohl urges new U.S. move on missiles

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was quoted yesterday as calling for a new American initiative to break the deadlock at the U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva on medium-range nuclear missiles.

Kohl told *The Washington Post* in his first newspaper interview since winning re-election a week ago Sunday: "It certainly is time for new proposals."

He said this did not mean giving up the ultimate objective of a "zero option" under which the West would cancel the deployment of U.S. Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe from this year if Moscow scrapped all its medium-range missiles.

Kohl reaffirmed that his centre-right government was prepared to deploy the American missiles "if

serious and thorough negotiations do not lead to anything."

In the interview conducted last Friday, he said the zero option remained the ideal goal, but "maybe we will have an interim solution, and that's a good thing."

The chancellor's public call for a new U.S. proposal came after senior West German officials had expressed concern that Washington might misinterpret the result of the West German election as a mandate for the new missiles.

A senior government source in Bonn said the same message was being conveyed to the Reagan administration discreetly through every available channel.

He said concepts for an interim solution would be the main theme at a meeting of NATO's special con-

sultative group on medium-range missiles in Brussels next Friday.

The Bonn official said West Germany would like to see U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze empowered both to discuss any serious Soviet proposal and to explore any possibility of compromise.

During his election campaign, Kohl backed the official American line that the West had made a far-reaching proposal in Geneva and it was up to the Soviet Union to respond.

But he said the zero option was not a "take-it-or-leave-it" offer and on the last day of campaigning, he modified his position by saying he expected a new U.S. initiative soon.

In Leipzig yesterday, East German President Erich Honecker said he will visit West Germany later this year at Kohl's invitation.

Non-aligned moderates claim summit win

NEW DELHI (AP). — Cuba's Fidel Castro and other hardliners "got their way on the rhetoric," a moderate foreign minister said yesterday of the final declaration of the seventh Non-Aligned Summit meeting. "But we won hands down where the real world is concerned."

The minister, who asked not to be named, paid tribute to the summit chairman, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, for what he called her "fine balancing act" throughout the five-day meeting between the "anti-imperialist" hardliners and moderate Third World governments.

The political part of the declaration, issued at the end of the 100-nation summit on Saturday, denounced the U.S. more than a dozen times for its actions and policies, but did not contain a single direct criticism of the Soviet Union — not even for the invasion of Afghanistan.

In return, the hardliners accepted

a softening of the economic part of the declaration, dropping their demand for an immediate global reform of the world's entire economic and financial system.

Instead of suggesting the immediate total reorganization of the western-dominated World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the summit urged "an increase in their capital and lending capacity and an improvement of their internal mechanisms. And instead of a confrontation between rich and poor countries, the summit urged 'effective cooperation' guided by a new concept of international security and world development."

It said the rich countries had a vital interest in preventing further aggravation of the poor countries' debt burden. But it rejected the suggestion that the way for the poor countries to solve the problem was to proclaim their debts, now exceeding \$600 billion, cancelled.

The summit urged Third World

countries with huge debts to seek an equitable "restructuring" of their debts. It urged that loans to the world's poorest countries, particularly in Africa, should be converted into grants.

It urged the rich countries to eliminate trade barriers against the poor countries, and refrain from "using economic measures as a form of political coercion." It also endorsed Gandhi's proposal for an international conference on money and finance for development.

The summit warned that failure to take effective joint action could "engulf the whole world in a major depression." And in a general swipe at the rich countries, it called for "avoidance of wasteful life styles and profligate use of global resources by a few privileged, developed countries."

The Soviet media yesterday proclaimed the Non-Aligned Summit "a success," stressing the anti-American tone of its final declarations.

S. African surgeons 'disarm' human bomb

PRETORIA (Reuters). — Doctors, shielded by sandbags and armour plating, have removed a 40-centimetre live rifle grenade from the chest of a young South African soldier wounded in a battle with guerrillas.

Officials said Corporal Mario Oliveira, 22, became a walking bomb last month when he was hit by the Yugoslav M-60 grenade in a clash with guerrillas in South West Africa (Namibia).

The missile penetrated both his lungs and lodged in his rib cage, leaving its fins protruding from a gaping chest wound.

Explosives experts warned that the grenade was unstable, so the surgeon, evacuated his field hospital

operating theatre and surrounded Oliveira with a makeshift barricade.

Another doctor inserted a hot needle into the plastic fin, tied a piece of wire to it, and, using a pulley, slowly extracted the grenade which was taken outside and detonated.

Oliveira, making a good recovery yesterday in a Pretoria hospital, told reporters he was keen to rejoin his unit.

South African officials said they believed there had been only two other cases of live grenades being removed successfully from soldiers' bodies — one in Vietnam and the other in the Rhodesian war.

Polish police disperse peaceful demonstrators

WARSAW (AP). — About 400 helmeted riot police dispersed a crowd of some 1,000 Poles who demonstrated peacefully yesterday outside the Lenin shipyard in the Baltic port of Gdansk.

But witnesses said many demonstrators were detained, evidently because they were slow to leave.

The exact number was not known, and it was not clear if they would be arrested and charged.

The Poles gathered outside the main shipyard gate to mark the declaration of martial law exactly 15 months ago. The gate is the site of a monument to scores of workers slain in a 1970 clash with authorities.

Police using bullhorns urged the

crowd to disperse, witnesses said. The police then advanced on the crowd and dispersed it, using neither tear gas nor rubber batons.

At a Roman Catholic mass yesterday morning at nearby St. Brigida's Church, Father Henryk Jankowski urged young worshippers not to become "involved in a political game," a remark he later said referred to the gathering.

"The real provocateurs are the enemies of the Socialist Poland," Jankowski said in his sermon, witnesses reported.

"I ask the young people not to answer these provocations and not to let themselves be drawn into a political game," he said, alluding to leaflets distributed in Gdansk last week calling for the gathering.

Saudi diplomat murdered in Geneva

GENEVA (AP). — A Saudi diplomat was found slain in a Geneva luxury hotel, police confirmed yesterday.

His nude body, sprawled on the bed, was discovered on Thursday afternoon by a maid. Investigators said he appeared to have been fatally strangled before being stabbed and sexually mutilated.

The 51-year-old man was a cultural attache with the Saudi mis-

sion to the UN office in Geneva and had lived in the studio wing of the hotel since mid-1981. His name was being withheld pending notification of his family.

Investigating Magistrate Roger Dussaix told a reporter that the inquiry had produced no clues. He said he would not exclude that the diplomat was the victim of an act of revenge "given the nature of the injuries."

Soviet women still doing men's work

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Thousands of Soviet women are still doing heavy manual work on building sites and in factories despite regulations barring them from arduous jobs, a Moscow newspaper said yesterday.

Little has changed in the Soviet capital since the rules were introduced two years ago and women are still carrying out physically dif-

ficult and dirty work in state-run concerns, *Moskovskaya Pravda* said.

Part of the problem is that factories rely on women to do hard or monotonous manual work instead of modernizing their equipment, it said.

The regulations barred women from 460 jobs, including road digging and driving heavy lorries, for the sake of their health.

Vodka price rise linked to dis-spiriting breakages

WARSAW (Reuters). — The number of vodka bottles reported broken in transit from distilleries trebled following a sharp rise in the price of the spirit, though identical half-litre bottles filled with vinegar apparently never break, fiscal authorities in Krakow said.

The officials, citing returns from transport enterprises, have recommended lowering the officially permitted breakage rate of 1 per cent per consignment. They argue that "if it is possible to protect vinegar bottles, it ought to be feasible to do the same for vodka bottles."

Yamani predicts OPEC accord today

LONDON (AP). — Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the oil minister of Saudi Arabia, said yesterday he expected a breakthrough by today in OPEC's impasse over how to stave off a global price war that could ruin the cartel.

But in their 11th straight day of negotiations in a luxury London hotel, the ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries reported little evidence that a settlement was possible.

Yamani, whose country is the world's largest oil exporter, met briefly with reporters and said he

believed a solution was at hand.

After having agreed last week to cut their base price by \$3 a barrel to \$29, the talks stalled on the divisive issue of how the 13 members can share oil sales in a shrinking market.

The ministers have said that the price cut agreement is contingent on settlement of the production issue.

Yamani and other ministers said frequently last week that they saw a quick end to the negotiations. But each night, the 13 ministers emerged from their talks without having reached agreement.

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Tough All Over

E.P.A. Dispute: Chief Leaves, Issues Remain

Though the President gamely tried to put a good face on it, last week was marked by casualty and capitulation in the battle over the Environmental Protection Agency. After months of turmoil, Anne McGill Burford resigned as Administrator of the agency and Ronald Reagan surrendered to Congress the toxic waste cleanup records he had risked her neck for in the first place.

Mrs. Burford, who had strongly resisted bipartisan pressure to quit, said in a letter to the President that "it is now clear that my resignation is essential to termination of the controversy and confusion generated by the outstanding dispute over Congressional access to certain E.P.A. documentary materials." In December, the House of Representatives voted to hold her in contempt after she followed Mr. Reagan's orders to withhold the papers on the ground of executive privilege.

Her resignation came one day before she was to appear under subpoena before the House Energy and Commerce Committee's investigative subcommittee. Though she had told her aides that the President should have turned the records over to Congress unconditionally, she was planning to withhold them again in accordance with his instructions. Representative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, warned she might then face a second contempt charge.

The chairman of another panel investigating the E.P.A. said that Mrs. Burford's departure was "irrelevant to the overall process" of sorting out the allegations against the agency. James H. Scheuer, a Queens Democrat, said she had simply followed Presidential orders to "put the E.P.A. in a straitjacket." All told, House panels are investigating seven main areas of possible wrongdoing at the agency.

White House officials said that with Mrs. Burford gone, the short-term contest had probably ended, but they were wary of surprises from newly released documents. Representative Guy V. Molinari, Republican of Staten Island, said some of those he had seen would be "very, very embarrassing to the White House."

One accusation against Mrs. Burford received Presidential attention during a news conference at which Mr. Reagan mentioned "environmental extremism" and "unfounded allegations" against the E.P.A. Regarding reports forwarded to the Justice Department by the White House that she had once been overheard saying she withheld cleanup funds for a California dump site in order to weaken the Senate campaign of former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., Mr. Reagan said, "She said that possibly she made some remark to that effect, but it had nothing to do with the decision that was made."

John W. Hernandez, a civil engineering professor who has been the deputy administrator, was named to replace Mrs. Burford temporarily. David R. Gergen, director of White House communications, said "there's interest in moving as fast as we can" to appoint a permanent administrator. "The President has got to use this appointment to kill the persistent notion that he sympathizes with big business on the environment," said one aide for the Senate Republican majority. (Unrest in the Federal bureaucracy, page 2.)

Arms: Morality And Matériel

While President Reagan last week denounced Moscow as "the focus of evil in the modern world," Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger concentrated on a more tangible kind of Soviet power, asserting that the Russians were bent on "world domination." The Pentagon released an updated assessment of Russian conventional and nuclear military forces,



Among the issues for the Administration last week: Anne McGill Burford discussing her resignation as head of the Environmental Protection Agency; nuclear freeze supporters demonstrating in Washington; a new Soviet strategic bomber, the Blackjack A, described in a report on the Russian military released by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger.

packed with what were said to be hurriedly declassified intelligence gleanings. The booklet described Russian efforts to launch monster missile-firing submarines and orbiting laser beams, in addition to new airplane types including a manned strategic bomber. It said little, and in some cases nothing, about comparative American strengths.

Such alarms are in keeping with budget-time tradition, but even the hard-line Mr. Weinberger wasn't all gloom and doom in his Congressional testimony. Perhaps signaling Congress that some military spending compromise might be possible after all, he allowed that things weren't as bad as had been in previous Administrations. "I think that we have begun to close the gap," he said, adding, however, that the United States was still "a good five years" away from catching up. Vice President Bush, meanwhile, told a business group that the United States strategic forces and its bargaining position in arms controls talks would be weakened if Congress didn't approve the \$274 billion that the White House says the Pentagon must have for fiscal year 1984.

A measure of the effectiveness of the hard sell may come this week, when the

Senate Budget Committee is to attempt once again to settle on a fair share for the military. By week's end, chairman Senator Pete V. Domenici, Republican from New Mexico, apparently hadn't been swayed, even after a private session with the President in the Oval Office. By most accounts, only three members of the budget panel, all Republicans, support Mr. Reagan's military spending program. Mr. Domenici is said to believe the Pentagon will probably get no more than a 5 percent increase over fiscal 1983. (A freeze resolution advances, page 2.)

Central America: More Millions

Pope John Paul II was hardly back in the Vatican last week, having drawn the world's attention to the poverty and strife of Central America and the Caribbean, when President Reagan announced a further United States investment of \$236 million in the region.

Warning once again the Soviet threat, Mr. Reagan asked Congress for \$168 million in economic aid for the region as a whole plus \$110 million in security aid to El Salvador, where he said the military situation "is not good," and \$20 million in regional military assistance. These sums are in addition to the \$350 million in economic assistance and \$26 million in military aid already approved this year and are needed, the President said, because of "the danger of governments seizing power there with ideological and military ties to the Soviet Union."

A large part of the additional money for El Salvador will go to training Government troops in the United States and other countries. The President's support for elections later this year was as close as he came to backing the Pope's call for "dialogue" as the only way to end the Salvadoran fighting. Later at a news conference, Mr. Reagan did call for a political solution: the rebels should stop trying "to shoot their way into a ruling position," accept an amnesty, lay down their arms and join the electoral process. A more immediate prospect was more fighting, with the Salvadoran military reported to be preparing a major campaign to destroy guerrilla base camps in the principal farming regions and win over the peasantry with the help of an economic redevelopment plan.

During his eight-day tour the Pope focused not on East-West rivalry but on social justice and admonished religious workers against taking political sides. Catholics who have undergone political hardship and danger to promote justice

found encouragement in his words, though the distinction he drew between social and political action was likely to be blurred in a region where one person's social justice is another's subversion.

John Paul lectured President President Efraim Ríos Montt of Guatemala about injustice and human rights violations, but told him, "I could not bring you a ready-made solution to the complex problems that resulted in the passage of a bill." Congressional critics did not think Mr. Reagan had much of a solution either and, like the Pope, called for negotiation to end the Salvadoran problem. "We've got to take it off the battlefield," Senator Christopher J. Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat, said. (Obstacles to dialogue, page 4.)

Social Security: Moving Along

Congress went far last week toward enabling the Social Security System to bail faster than it sinks, at least for a while. President Reagan and legislative leaders praised the bipartisan cooperation that resulted in the passage of a bill in the House of Representatives and was expected to lead to approval of a broadly similar measure in the Senate this week.

The House bill, approved 282 to 148, would increase Social Security revenues by \$165.3 billion through the end of the decade by increasing payroll taxes, putting new Federal employees into the system, postponing cost-of-living increases for six months and taxing some benefits of higher-income retirees. The measure would also raise the retirement age gradually to 66 by 2000 and to 67 by 2027.

Like the House bill, a proposal that the Senate Finance Committee sent to the floor, where it was expected to pass, was patterned after recommendations made by the National Commission on Social Security Reform in January. But the Senate committee's bill differed from the House measure in that it would, among other things, further cut cost-of-living increases for beneficiaries receiving more than \$250 a month, if Social Security reserves fell dangerously low; raise the retirement age no higher than 66; phase out penalties for retirees who continue to work; and, in effect, partially tax more better-off retirees' benefits.

Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, said the House bill, and presumably the final version that is expected to reach the White House around the end of the month, would make the Social Security System "secure for the next 25 or 30 years." (Congress stumbles on jobs, taxes, page 2.)

'Rhetoric and Reality' Make A Complex Reagan Style

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

THE cry came from the heart and seemed simple enough when it was sounded two months ago by Interior Secretary James Watt at a pep rally of hundreds of Administration patronage appointees: "Let Reagan be Reagan!"

Mr. Watt drew a roaring endorsement of his sentiment, with its artful hint that somehow the real Ronald Reagan had not yet been free to emerge after two years in office. The notion might comfort Reagan idealists. But a busy work week such as the one just concluded shows a somewhat more complicated Presidency at work.

It is one of enormous powers of public rhetoric wielded by Mr. Reagan himself. Last week he spoke on such major topics as the Administration's growing involvement in El Salvador, world peace, the Soviet and God. No less important, however, the Reagan Presidency lately also is one of a deliberately undramatic tendency toward legislative compromises, engineered by the President's best political strategists. Reagan-being-Reagan these days must be sketched not only in the vivid black-and-white tones of his speeches but also in the far grayer linings of his Congressional enterprise.

On Tuesday, the President's legislative strategy group was busy working with friendly Democrats toward bipartisan progress on what not long ago had been millstone issues that offered great danger for Mr. Reagan, antirecession unemployment aid and Social Security reform. Mr. Reagan was in Orlando, Fla., delivering what has been called his "Darth Vader speech" — a thumping renunciation of the Soviet Union as "an evil empire."

Invoking the power of Jesus and denouncing the nuclear freeze movement, the President told a fervid audience of evangelical preachers that "America is great because America is good." The nation's spiritual superiority knows no limit he said, adding: "It must triumph and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man." There was a standing ovation and the band played "Onward Christian Soldiers" as Mr. Reagan completed a flawless reading of the fiery address.

Thunder vs. Trust

But back on Capitol Hill, aides for the President and Democratic House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. were working as quietly as counting-house clerks, and some of them barely cared to comment on the front-page thunder heard in Florida. "What? That's just rhetoric," one Reagan worker said. "Rhetoric and reality are what makes politics," he added, clearly taking his own role as reality. Chris Matthews, an adviser to Mr. O'Neill, accounted for the Orlando speech by paraphrasing F. Scott Fitzgerald. "In a real dark night of the soul, it's always three o'clock in the morning." Mr. Matthews said philosophically, "and at 3 o'clock in the morning, they've got to be crazy rightwingers; so let them."

He made it clear the Speaker was far more interested in tracking the job and Social Security bills than measuring the flame of the President's rhetoric. Indeed, another member of this season's Capitol Hill-White House working group disclosed that mutual trust had reached such a point that the President's and House leadership's aides sometimes make advance exchanges of each principal's formal statements — and occasionally request and win small editing favors — as a means of cementing good feeling.

It is impossible to say how these quiet relations might affect separately developing issues such as the dispute over the Environmental Protection Agency. It has been noted, however, that the House leadership has kept its own rhetoric relatively in check on the matter, while resisting any temptation to create a single investigative committee to focus more on the agency, replacing the half dozen panels now attempting to measure the extent of scandal there. In moving to the counterattack last week after the resignation of Anne McGill Burford, the agency's administrator, President Reagan complained that politics was motivating his critics. But he significantly blamed environmentalists, not House Democrats.

Such behavior begs the question of whatever happened to the Democrats' gain of 26 House seats in last fall's elections, and did it matter? The answer will be clearer later in the session, when the Democratic leaders vow to show they have regained the power to pass their own one-house budget. "What we pass will be the Democrats' election platform in '84," a Democratic aide promises. "It will stress such issues as fairness, tax equity and the working poor." A Reagan aide counters: "They're welcome to try. They've got a major dilemma in pushing for budget programs that might increase the deficit or raise taxes. They could hand us an issue."

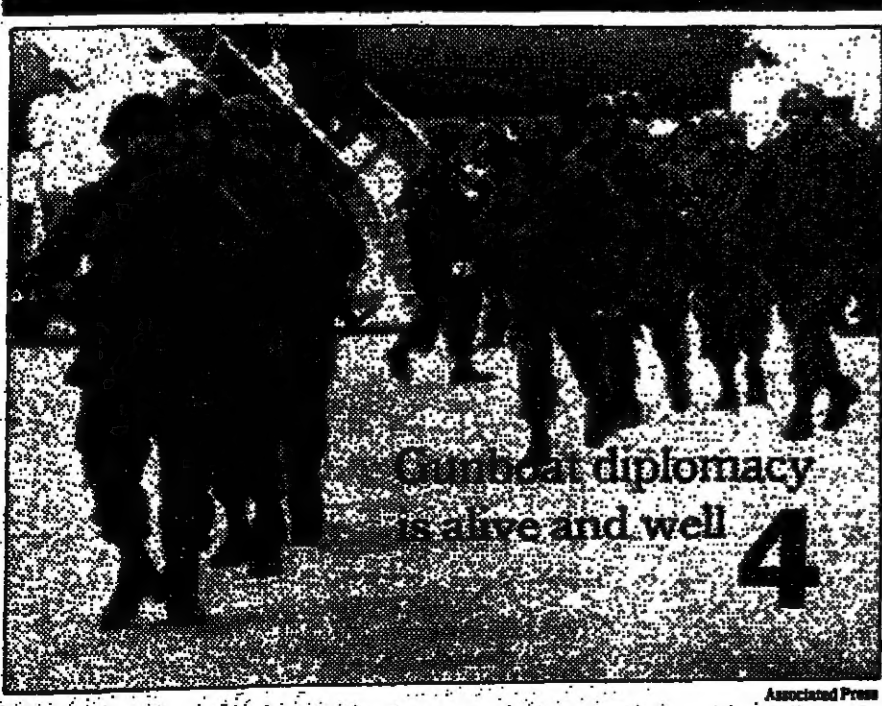
The Pursuit of Compromise

Before that possible fight, however, both sides are pursuing compromise. "What you have now on issues that could harm the President is Democratic policy in a Republican package," a Democratic strategist says. "But if they're conceding on our issues, that's what the Speaker is in politics for. He wants voters to sense progress, not veto and the image of Government chaos. He figures if the voters want a Democratic agenda, sooner or later they'll want Democratic leadership in the White House."

The President's legislative team relishes the current armistice no less. Its players vary from issue to issue. But the key members respected by the Democrats include Kenneth M. Duberstein, the director of legislative affairs, who can work the lawmakers one by one or bloc by bloc, as needs arise; Presidential assistant Richard G. Darman, who maps strategy; and James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff who is the executive producer of most of Mr. Reagan's compromises, as is often lamented by the sorts of conservatives who go around demanding, "Let Reagan be Reagan!" "Baker's a hell of a fighter," one Congressional Democrat says. "Basically, they're trying to duplicate Nixon's 1971 pre-election strategy, when he swallowed hard and compromised. They must clear the deck of the landmine issues for Reagan's next run. And Baker's slick, the closest thing to Nixon you'll see in a pinstripe suit."

With compliments of this left-handed though sincere sort, there is little danger the bipartisan dealings will do away with politics or advantage-taking. There will be combat again. But even on the more difficult matters beyond the budget, such as the President's new attempt to revive the MX missile program, the Reagan team rates itself a fair chance at victory or healthy compromise, particularly if the President keeps pressing his edge in rhetoric by talking of global fears and divine preference and by cautioning voters, as he did last week, against "appeasers" who might oppose him.

"Consultation," one of the President's own Capitol Hill appeasers says, in a one-word explanation of the White House's current deference toward the Democratic leadership. Consultation is a word with none of the Armageddon quality of a Darth Vader speech. But the President's legislative team seems no less inspired by it.



U.S. troops arriving in South Korea for joint military exercises this month.

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The Nation



Senator Bob Kasten

A Long String Is Attached To Jobs Bill

By week's end, only William O'Connell, president of the U.S. League of Savings Institutions, seemed to be maintaining his cool about the rider holding up Senate passage of a recession-relief jobs bill.

President Reagan, sounding as "deeply disturbed" as he said he was, broke with practice to promise a veto if repeal of last year's tax-withholding provision on bank interest and dividends stayed attached. Robert Dole followed bitter denunciation on the Senate floor with hearings on increasing the low taxes banks now pay ("There is no direct relationship between this and the avalanche of mail" produced by the banks' repeal drive, "but it might have expedited" the hearing, the Senate Finance Committee chairman said). "The President's statement," Mr. O'Connell said, "is unfortunate. A majority of both houses wants repeal."

Unless Senate leaders prove remarkable arm-twisters over the weekend, Mr. O'Connell may prove right. The claim of Robert W. Kasten Jr., the freshman Republican from Wisconsin who is pushing repeal, that he has the votes, was not disputed by chiefs of either party. Both want the rider removed, partly to avoid a veto, partly because of their concern that approval would make them appear to have yielded to bankers' pressure and partly because repeal is estimated to cost \$4 billion a year. The Internal Revenue Service says that \$20 billion a year in investment income goes unreported; banks complain of the costs of withholding.

The hope in the Senate is that an undisputed section of the jobs bill, providing \$5 billion in Federal loans that almost 30 states need by mid-week Wednesday to keep on paying unemployment benefits, will bring its own pressure. The House passed a similar jobs measure two weeks ago (the House would provide nearly \$5 billion for temporary jobs and humanitarian aid, the Senate, a little less than \$4 billion), and a separate vote on the withholding repeal would be required. It is expected to carry.

Modified 'Freeze' Clears First Test

The Senate might reject it and President Reagan, a White House spokesman vowed, would certainly ignore it. Nonetheless, a resolution that in essence urges Washington and

Moscow to start turning their A-bombs into plowshares may be adopted by the House this week.

Last year, a nuclear freeze resolution failed to clear the House by two votes. The outlook appears more favorable this year because of Republican losses in November and because the resolution adopted last week by the House Foreign Affairs Committee was designed to be a vote-attracting compromise. The nonbinding resolution, approved 27 to 9, calls for a "mutual and verifiable freeze and reductions in nuclear weapons" by the United States and the Soviet Union. The measure initially called for a freeze to be "followed by" cutbacks in nuclear weaponry. As a further embellishment, the panel added language to state specifically that the resolution — which the Administration says could hamper negotiations — didn't rule out the possibility of other arms agreements.

As the panel deliberated, advocates and opponents swarmed through the Capitol button-holing members of Congress and rallied outdoors. At one demonstration, Senate Edward M. Kennedy called Administration weapons-reduction proposals "voodoo arms control." At another, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of Moral Majority, said that come the 1984 elections "the American people will have repudiated the freezeze." Freeze supporters on the Foreign Affairs Committee suggested that even doubters should rally "round the resolution because last year's elections demonstrated the popular appeal of nuclear weapons reductions. As in 1982, opposition was led by Representative William S. Broomfield of Michigan, the senior Republican member. "I don't think the committee reflects the majority of either the House or the Senate," he said. The Republican-run Senate's decision is probably still several weeks away.

Detroit Center Changes Hands

At its grand opening five years ago, it was hoped that Detroit's gleaming Renaissance Center hotel and office complex would spark a wave of new downtown growth. But the \$356 million development proved to be an only child and a sickly one, and last week its parent, the Ford Motor Company, gave it up for adoption.

Under a deal approved by Ford directors, the company's Ford Land Development subsidiary, which owned 65 percent of the project and defaulted on its \$200 million mortgage in January, transferred majority ownership to the lenders. In return, the lenders erased the mortgage debt and assumed \$13 million in other liabilities.

Under the new ownership structure, Ford Land's share of the 70-story hotel and four matching 39-story office buildings shrank to 43 percent. The remaining 53 percent fell to a consortium of insurance firms including Aetna Life Insurance Company, Equitable Life Assurance Society, John Hancock Mutual and the Travelers Insurance Company.

Renaissance Center's failure to make money or prompt other new construction was due mainly to the devastating local impact of the national recession. As unemployment rose in the Motor City, all downtown business declined; few of the hoped-for conventions materialized.

Caroline Rand Herron and Michael Wright

Senate Remains Video-Shy

WASHINGTON — The Senate, which appeared for a while to be on the verge of tipping into the electronic age, is deadlocked again on the question of whether to televise its proceedings.

Until recently, the Senate majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, had hoped he had convinced his fellow senators to approve a one-year test. He still believes he has the votes for passage of the bill, but he also knows that he does not have enough votes to shut off a likely filibuster by opponents.

It was four years ago that carefully controlled television coverage of House sessions was first made available to cable and commercial networks. Today, gavel-to-gavel House proceedings are viewed on more than a thousand cable systems. When the House's six remote-controlled cameras perched in the galleries first began recording floor proceedings, there was a bit of grandstanding. Now, no one seems to pay much attention to the cameras.

In the beginning, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts pronounced the television experiment "a total disaster." Now, he calls it "an unqualified success." Live television coverage, says the Speaker, "has relegated the Senate to second place

in the evening news."

No one is more aware of that "second place" standing than Senator Baker. "I don't begrudge the House that recognition or the public attention it has gained," he says. "But it does mean that if we don't get television in the Senate in a decade or less, the House will be the dominant partner in the Congressional branch."

Such arguments have failed to sway the more tradition-minded senators. There are those who fear that, for one thing, Presidential hopefuls in their midst might try to use the Senate as a "bully pulpit" in their campaigns.

Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, an early opponent of television in the Senate, used to complain that the presence of cameras would prompt many of his colleagues to get their "hair fluffed" and their "shoes shined." Now, he is a convert.

Some months ago, he says, he learned "to my utter surprise and complete disgust" that senators often go to the office of the official reporters of debate and delete whole sections of their floor remarks before the material is sent to the printers of the Congressional Record. Only by allowing the televising of floor action, he says, can there be a "permanent, accurate, dependable" record of Senate proceedings.

—MARJORIE HUNTER

E.P.A. Shakeup Is Rooted in Clash of Appointees and Civil Servants

Tension Bubbles in the Bureaucracy

By DAVID BURNHAM

WASHINGTON — In the view of some authorities, the resignation last week of Anne McGill Burford as head of the Environmental Protection Agency raised the question of whether President Reagan's promise to reduce the burden of Government has led some of his lieutenants to ignore the lawful mandates of Congress.

At a news conference on Friday, Mr. Reagan praised Mrs. Burford's record of protecting the environment while working with a sharply reduced staff and budget. "That was what we came in here to do — to make Government more efficient, to eliminate waste and extravagance," he said.

But with an apparently increasing frequency and intensity, the career employees of a broad range of Federal agencies have come to believe that the budgetary and other restrictions imposed by the appointed members of the Reagan Administration have undercut programs that were formally authorized by past Congresses and signed into law by past Presidents.

This belief was the central to the decision of Hugh B. Kaufman, a career engineer in the E.P.A., to attack the actions of Mrs. Burford and Rita Lavelle, his two former bosses. It also is the foundation of most of the current House investigations of the agency.

Mr. Kaufman has counterparts in other agencies. James P. Marion Jr., a Labor Department lawyer who was well thought of during his 10-year career there — he very recently won a special merit bonus and a promotion to deputy associate solicitor for employment and training — quit his \$56,524 job two weeks ago. It was a rare action for a career employee of the Federal Government, and Mr. Marion said he did it as a protest against the management of Labor Secretary Raymond J. Donovan. "I do not want to work another day amidst the unproductive destructiveness which now pervades much of the department,"

Mr. Marion wrote in his brief resignation letter.

"It wasn't one particular matter that triggered my decision," he said in an interview last week. "But day after day, the attitude was conveyed by the top political appointees that they were not particularly interested in carrying out the programs mandated by law."

The Labor Department dismissed Mr. Marion's criticism. "Ray Donovan has almost 19,000 people working for him and it's not surprising that one of them is going to be disgruntled," said Michael Volpe, Mr. Donovan's press spokesman. "I haven't seen any of the other 18,000-plus making such complaints."

An Old Conflict

Other career workers have chosen to wage the same battle anonymously. Four months ago, two employees of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration became convinced that Raymond A. Peck, the head of the agency, had decided not to force the General Motors Corporation to repair the brakes of its 1980 X-cars even though tests showed they were seriously flawed.

The two engineers approached a reporter with several documents, including the results from one of the secret tests. When Mr. Peck was asked about the matter he denied that his agency was improperly carrying out the law. Shortly after an article appeared in The New York Times, his agency ordered the recall of 320,000 X-cars.

Conflict between the civilians who work for the Federal Government and the top officials Presidents appoint to direct the departments and agencies has long been a part of national life. "There always is hostility between the political appointees and the civil servants," said a mid-level career official in the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

A career public information expert at the Department of Health and Human Services recalled a recent occasion when he wondered

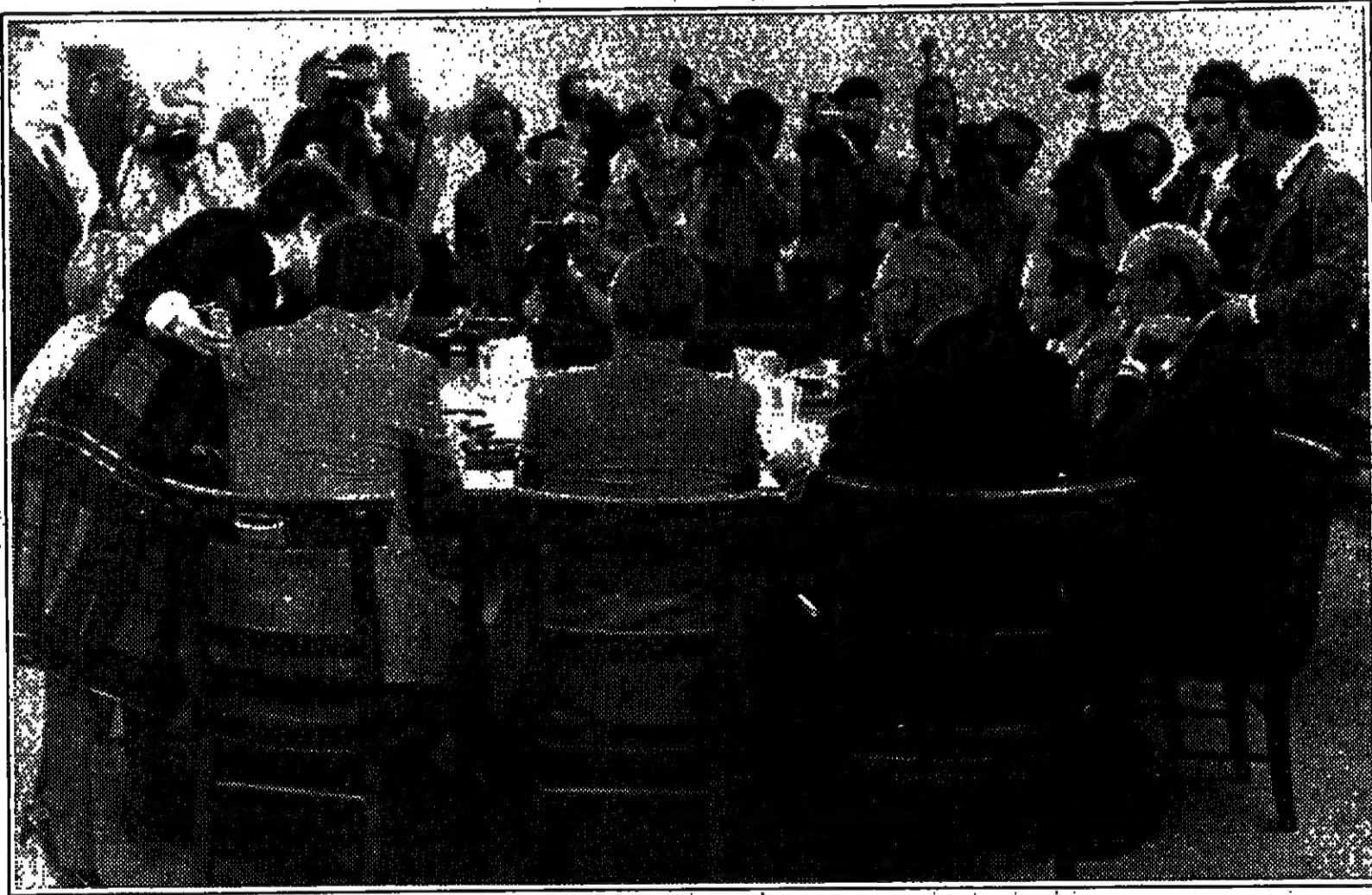
aloud during a casual hallway conversation how the official inflation rate could decline at the same time there had been such huge increases in his gas bill. "A friend, an old dyed-in-the-wool Republican, brushed me up with a warning that this was not the time to question the Administration," he said. "I don't think I remember a time when civil servants have ever been so insecure."

Concerns about some of the Reagan Administration actions have been voiced by critics who are somewhat removed from the immediate battles.

In July, Federal District Judge Harold H. Greene issued a temporary injunction against proposed regulations that substantially reinterpreted two long-established Federal labor laws. "It is not for the Court to judge whether the basic policy decision to prefer wage floors over expense to the Government was wise or is wise," Judge Greene wrote. "More to the point, it is not for the Secretary of Labor or his subordinates to make that judgment. Under our constitutional system, policy decisions are not made by Government administrators; they are made by the Congress."

Even some members of the Reagan Administration are concerned. In December, for example, the Merit System Protection Board, two of whose three members were appointed by the President, issued an annual report that reviewed how the Federal Office of Personnel Management was handling the civil service.

"Wholly aside from the questions of whether and what national policy changes are desirable or necessary," the report stated, "and conceding that some change and stress on the merit system are facts of national life, we believe that the Office of Policy Management, the President and the Congress must nevertheless be concerned with this question: Does the merit system have a point of 'metal fatigue,' a point at which the critical elements in the alloy of its human capital fails and the framework of continuity collapses?"



Members of a House investigative subcommittee meeting to discuss Environmental Protection Agency issues this month.

The Farm Surplus Yields A Peck of Trade Friction

By SETH S. KING

WASHINGTON — Under pressure from a free-spending farm lobby, the Reagan Administration and Congress have been struggling to find some way to sell this country's grain and dairy surpluses abroad without risking a full-scale trade war with the European Economic Community.

Recent skirmishes have included two "warning shots," as Agriculture Secretary John R. Block calls them, across the Common Market's bow: The speedy passage of special tax legislation for farmers, aimed at persuading more of them to participate in the Administration's payment in kind, or PIK program; and a Senate move to force the dumping of 150,000 tons of surplus dairy products onto the world market, regardless of the effect on some European allies.

All sides agree that while programs to reduce production can help a little, the only long-term solution to the surplus problem is to export more, which they also agree will not be easy.

For most of the past decade, American farmers have been producing larger and larger grain crops and more and more milk while domestic consumption has lagged far behind. Today, if grain farmers can't export nearly two-thirds of their wheat and at least 40 percent of their corn, these commodities pile up in the storage elevators and their prices stay at levels that yield meager profits at best. And no matter what price support level the Government sets on milk or what penalties it threatens to invoke, dairy farm production continues at 10 percent higher than consumption.

These woes are now compounded by rapidly accelerating competition from such other farm commodity exporting countries as Brazil, Argentina and members of the Common Market, who in the past year have been capturing increasingly larger shares of export markets that American farmers used to consider their own. The European and South American farmers have been aided in these efforts by their own surplus crops, the current high cost of the American dollar and subsidies that some critics contend are unfair.

The farm organizations and their supporters in Congress are demanding that Mr. Block strike back by increasing direct subsidies on exports of

grain and cotton and by creating indirect subsidies on exported broilers and eggs. They also want him to put surplus dairy products on the world market at low prices.

He may not have gotten around to these items yet, but the Agriculture Secretary has not been idle in export matters. He bucked State Department resistance recently to provide cheap surplus wheat to American millers, who converted it to flour and sold one million tons to Egypt at below-market prices. In the past, most of Egypt's flour has come from France, which has the highest farm subsidies in the Common Market.

Earlier Mr. Block arranged for the sale of wheat to Morocco, another longtime French customer. This he subsidized with what he calls "blended credit." The Agriculture Department guaranteed 80 percent of a private loan for the wheat purchase and gave the Moroccans direct credit for the remaining 20 percent.

Last week he announced a new subsidized credit export package for Iraq, with which that country will buy \$230 million worth of American grains, eggs, and oilseed products. Then he disclosed a similar subsidized package for Portugal, providing blended credit for the purchase of \$225 million worth of wheat, feed-grains and oilseeds.

On the home front meanwhile, the payment-in-kind signup period ended Friday. It appeared from preliminary counts that a high percentage of grain and cotton farmers would participate, leaving as much as half of their acreage unplanted and getting stored Government-stored surplus crops in return. Many of them, Mr. Block believed, were reluctant to participate until they were sure the tax law would be changed so they could pay income taxes on PIK commodities in the year they sold them instead of when they receive them.

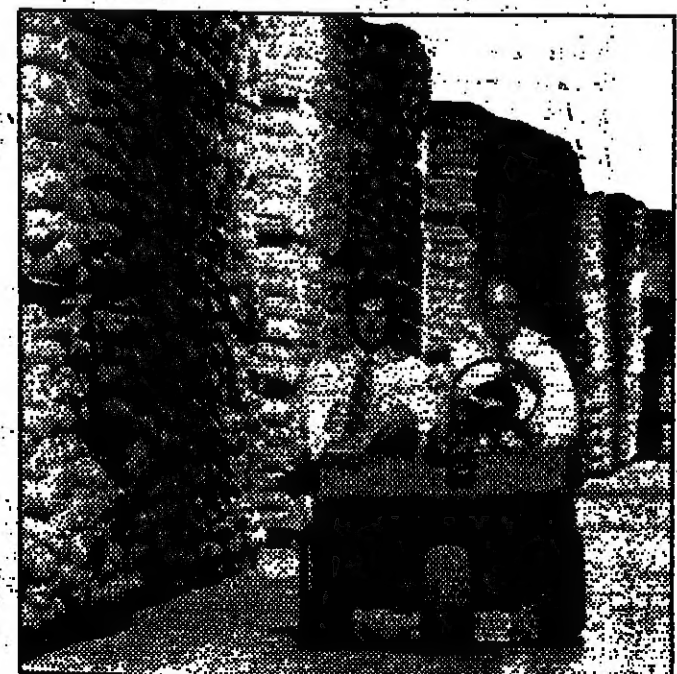
With the PIK plan, Mr. Block hopes to give back to the farmers almost all of the grains and cotton they have

stored as collateral on price support loans. He also hopes that at least 23 million acres will be taken out of production and that this will greatly reduce this year's grain and cotton crops. In the meantime, he says he intends to use blended credit and any other available subsidies until the Common Market and the other countries agree to stop subsidizing their exports.

As for the 150,000 pounds of dairy surplus the Senate wants sold, Mr. Block already has the necessary authority and would be happy to get rid of it. But large sales to any dairy importing country except the Soviet Union would violate a pledge not to invade New Zealand's traditional markets.

"We don't want a trade war with our allies," Mr. Block said recently. "But we aren't going to sit by and let them grab our markets unfairly."

However, some E.E.C. countries think the trade war has already started. Common Market foreign ministers recently warned of grave political consequences if there were any more sales like the one to the Egyptians. And the French not only threatened to file charges against the United States with the trade commission established under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, but also announced they would soon offer to sell wheat to Peking, one of American farmers' biggest customers.



Bags of Government surplus dried milk stored underground in Independence, Mo.

New Guidelines on 'Violent' Groups Make Civil Libertarians Wary

More Freedom for the F.B.I. Could Mean Less for Others

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — Justice Department officials say they foresee no significant increase in domestic security inquiries as a result of new investigative standards issued last week. But clearly, in some areas, the department's revised guidelines would permit an expansion of activities by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Even though the rules take effect in eight days, they may be slightly modified in the next few months to take account of concerns expressed by members of Congress and critics outside the Government. Roger S. Young, a spokesman for the F.B.I., said the agency welcomed the efforts to help "clarify" the guidelines, and he added, "We can't expect our critics to assume we'll do everything right."

The guidelines give the bureau somewhat greater latitude to look into the activities of groups that use, or advocate the use of, violence to "achieve political or social change." The rules were revised because there seemed to be a perception among some Federal agents and conservative members of Congress that political activism immunized groups against investigations of suspected criminal behavior.

Senator Jeremiah A. Denton Jr., a conservative Republican from Alabama who heads the security and terrorism subcommittee, concluded after hearings that the F.B.I. had "little or no useful intelligence" on groups that advocate violence, terrorism and subversion. Even if such organizations have not yet committed a terrorist or subversive act, he said, they "may represent a substantial threat" to the safety and security of the country.

The bureau had good reason to be skittish about investigating such groups. Disclosures that the agency spied on dissenters in the 1960's and 70's tarnished the bureau's carefully burnished image and led to restrictions on its operations, as well as lawsuits against many agents.

One of the most hotly debated provisions in the new guidelines says that Federal agents may take steps to "anticipate or prevent crime" by investigating statements that advocate criminal activity or "indicate an apparent intent to engage in crime, particularly crimes of



violence." In the abstract, such standards may sound academic. But two hypothetical examples show the importance of such rules. Could the F.B.I. open an investigation of someone who urged a crowd of 300 college students to resist draft registration requirements? Could the bureau investigate a political party that advocates revolutionary change at some time in the indefinite future?

"For people who are concerned about First Amendment rights, this is a benchmark test of our society," said Jerry J. Berman of the American Civil Liberties Union. "The question is: How free and open is the marketplace of ideas?"

Thus, the significance of domestic security cases is greater than their numbers would suggest. William H. Webster, Director of the F.B.I., reported last August that the bureau was conducting a total of 38 domestic security

investigations, including full investigations of eight groups and 10 individuals. Four of the eight groups, including the F.A.L.N., seek independence for Puerto Rico. The four others were the Communist Workers Party, the Jewish Defense League, the Arizona chapter of the Ku Klux Klan and the May 19th Communist Organization, several members of which have been linked to the Brink's robbery and slayings in New York.

If the activities of a terrorist group transcend national boundaries or are undertaken on behalf of a foreign power, they may be investigated under separate rules known as the Foreign Counterintelligence Guidelines.

For seven years, the investigation of domestic security cases has been subject to the rules issued by President Gerald Ford's Attorney General, Edward H. Levi. Under those guidelines, the bureau says, it "incorrectly" opened 10 security investigations based on nothing more than the "advocacy of violence," and those cases "were ordered closed by F.B.I. headquarters."

Under the new guidelines, it is not entirely clear whether the advocacy of nonviolent illegal acts, by itself, is a proper subject for investigation. Nor is it clear what circumstances justify the use of informers and infiltrators in the preliminary stages of an investigation.

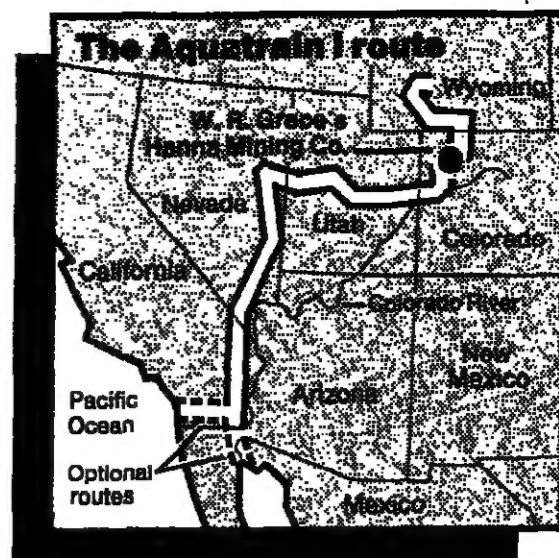
Resources May Limit Inquiries

The revised guidelines, issued by Attorney General William French Smith, say that such "highly intrusive" techniques may be used in preliminary inquiries where there are "compelling circumstances," but they do not define the circumstances. The modified rules would seem to loosen the standards in this area.

But a Senate committee that investigated the Abscam operation recommended a tougher standard. When a Government agent or informer infiltrates a political or religious organization, it said, there should be "probable cause to believe that the operation is necessary to detect or to prevent specific acts of criminality."

F.B.I. officials say that budget limitations, as well as administrative guidelines, force them to be highly selective in investigating dissident groups. "We have rather limited resources," Mr. Webster has said. "We quickly run out of people."

The Attorney General's new guidelines embody many of the principles that the Carter Administration tried to write into law as part of a statutory charter for the bureau. The Reagan Administration has shown no interest in revising that massive task. But Mr. Young, the spokesman for Mr. Webster, said the F.B.I. Director "has always supported the idea of a charter" and would welcome Congressional efforts to write one along the lines suggested by the bureau.



Coal and Salt: A Happy Mix For the West?

By THOMAS J. LUECK

For decades, the Western states along the Colorado River have had a vexatious water problem. Because the Colorado is fed by natural salt springs, the river's salinity becomes so high that its water damages crops, corrodes pipes and falls far below drinking quality.

In an effort to solve this problem, the Federal Government and W. R. Grace and Company have struck on an idea to remove huge quantities of salt from the Colorado while moving large volumes of coal by pipeline to Western markets.

"We've never seen a program that holds greater savings for both government and industry," said Michael Clinton, the manager of saline water transport for the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation, which signed an agreement with Grace in November to provide consultation on the project. The agreement could also lead to partial Government funding for construction.

The proposed pipeline, called the Aqueduct I, grew out of discussions between Grace, a retailing, chemicals and energy conglomerate, and the Department of the Interior, which had been looking for alternatives to spending \$280 million for plants that would remove part of the Colorado's salt content through evaporation. Two versions have emerged. Both remain far from final form, and Grace estimates that construction could not begin for at least two years, regardless of which is chosen. It also projects the cost of the pipeline at \$2 billion to \$2.5 billion, adding that huge capital commitments from utility companies and other private concerns would be required at a time when the effects of recession may still limit the funds available for new, untested technologies.

In its original version, now called Aqueduct I, Grace proposed a 36-inch pipeline that would siphon off saltwater from the largest springs flowing into the Colorado and its tributaries. This pipeline would begin in southwest Wyoming and head west, routed through the coal mines operated by Grace's Hanna Mining Company subsidiary in northwest Colorado. At these mines, the company would package pulverized coal in long, tube-shaped plastic bags that would be inserted into the pipe.

After continuing the pipeline through Nevada, Grace would remove the coal in Southern California, where it would be sold to utilities or exported to Japan. The pipeline would terminate in the Pacific, where the saltwater would be dumped into the ocean.

Skeptical Reaction

"We're talking about using big baggies that look like sausages, and we'd move them 1,200 miles," said Chris G. Tofalli, a Grace spokesman. "We've taken a little ribbing about it."

Indeed, several environmental groups reacted with skepticism. They maintained that demand for coal on the West Coast and in the Far East is not large enough to justify the project's costs, and that a pipeline moving through wilderness areas and ranch land was bound to be fought by landowners.

"It's an outlandish idea," said Gary Macfarlane, a spokesman for the Utah Wilderness Association. He added that "even if you can move coal across the country in plastic bags, we don't think anybody would be serious about building this thing because the construction costs would be prohibitive."

Nonetheless, after a cost analysis last year, the company concluded that Aqueduct I could move 15 million tons of coal to the West Coast annually at about two-thirds the expense of using rail transport. At the same time, it estimated that the pipeline could remove enough salt from the Colorado to satisfy the Government's objectives in purifying the river.

In recent months, Grace, working with Arthur D. Little and Company, the engineering and management consulting firm, has settled on what it believes may be a better plan. In Aqueduct II, a similar pipeline would be used to transport coal in a mixture with liquid carbon dioxide, a substance produced in huge quantities in oil drilling in the overthrust region of the Rocky Mountains.

In the revised plan, saltwater would also be removed from the Colorado and transported to the West Coast. But instead of using the water to float plastic bags, it would be injected into the pipeline intermittently with the mixture of coal and liquid CO₂.

In concept, Aqueduct II is similar to the coal slurry pipelines that have been planned in several Western states. In coal slurry, pulverized coal is mixed with fresh water to form a sludgy liquid, pumped through pipelines, and then separated at the point of discharge by power plants or other industrial users. Environmental and agricultural groups have objected to coal slurries, principally because of their potential for depleting fresh water supplies. But recent tests by Little have shown liquid CO₂ to be more efficient than water in the coal mixture.

Despite its potential benefits, however, the project is being viewed not only with skepticism by environmentalists, but with protests from railroad companies in the Western states. The railroads, which derive a large part of their revenue from hauling coal, have made their position clear in Congress this month at hearings on a bill that would give the Federal Government eminent domain powers to clear the way for construction of interstate coal pipelines.

"You strip away the technological bells and whistles and the Grace project would still be the equivalent of a single-purpose railroad carrying coal," said Frank Wilner, director of issue development for the American Association of Railroads. He added that railroad companies would "fight hard" to oppose Federal funding.

If landowners along the route refused to let the pipeline cross their property, Mr. Clinton of the reclamation bureau said he expected state governments would use their powers of eminent domain to clear a path. And if the states elected not to help, he added, the Interior Department has special powers of its own. A nine-year-old Federal law, aimed at resolving the Colorado's salinity problem, would give the Secretary of Interior authority to employ Federal eminent domain for the project, effectively overruling the states.

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The World

OPEC Members Struggle to Avoid A Breakup

No bazaar is likely to see more furious haggling than the London hotel where the 13 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries spent all last week arguing over what price and production cuts would insure OPEC's survival in the midst of a world oil glut.

OPEC's hopes that it could avoid a price war were raised in midweek by a "general understanding" to cut the base price from \$34 a barrel to \$29 and thus help preserve the cartel's shrinking share of the market. But to make the new price stick, the members had to agree on apportioning production quotas so that the proposed ceiling of about 17.5 million barrels a day would be respected. Each member sought to protect its income as much as possible and their main target was the biggest producer, Saudi Arabia, whose output goal of 5.5 million barrels was thought far too high, particularly by its ideological enemies, Libya and Iran.

"The cake is so small that everyone is after Saudi Arabia to take less," one Persian Gulf delegate said. Iran had other reasons for going after the Saudis. In addition to having to maintain a far bigger population, it needs oil revenue badly to finance its war with Iraq. To Iran's outrage, the Saudis had even proposed raising their quota to help the Iraqis.

Venezuela has foreign debts it has trouble paying off and was also demanding a bigger quota. So the production dispute went on, although late yesterday Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki al-Yamani was professing optimism that it could be settled. Adding to the cartel's worries was the threat that non-members like Mexico and Britain might not go along.

The Poles Fan a Flickering Flame

Solidarity, the outlawed independent union that embodied the hopes of millions of Poles for freedom, has a harder life than the military-led Government bargained for when it



Anna Walentynowicz in court last week in Gdansk, Poland.

sought to snuff out the organization, with martial law and replace it with officially sanctioned unions.

In a resurgence of aggressiveness last week, the shipyard workers of Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarity, demanded that it be restored. Lech Walesa, the union's leader, called for strikes, protests and hunger strikes to halt further trials and arrests of Solidarity activists. "Vain are the hopes of those who want to turn back the tide of history," the workers warned in an open letter to Parliament, adding that the new unions were "pseudosocial creations that enjoy no acceptance."

The immediate occasion for the increased tension was the start of the trial of Anna Walentynowicz, the crane operator whose dismissal in 1980 set off a shipyard strike that led to the formation of Solidarity. Mrs. Walentynowicz is accused of carrying on union activity after the imposition of martial law in 1981. Mr. Walesa, who has taken a relatively mild stand up since his release from detention, said talks with the authorities on ending the harassment of Solidarity workers have been useless so "I will force a stronger line now." Ignored by the local press, his remarks were broadcast by Radio Free Europe to millions of Poles. Moscow signaled fresh concern for Poland when Pravda, the Soviet party newspaper, accused the Polish Communists of "passivity" and called on it to wage "a resolute battle" against Western efforts to divide the Soviet bloc.

Socialists Slip In Local Voting

Don't panic, France's Socialist leaders told each other last week, but some couldn't help being anxious. The Socialists lost 16 cities in the first

round of municipal elections and six of President François Mitterrand's Cabinet ministers were defeated in local voting that was regarded as reflecting national feelings. There will be a second round today.

Most of the ministers are likely to hold onto their Cabinet jobs — unless Mr. Mitterrand decides to drop them in a postelection shakeup — but the setbacks in city halls, where the mayor often holds down an electoral *pousse-café* of layered jobs in regional councils and Parliament, had far-reaching importance. The Socialists and their Communist coalition partners were punished "because they've failed economically," a neo-Gaullist leader insisted.

The Government's claim to have turned the economic corner collided inconveniently with January figures showing a \$1.4 billion foreign trade deficit and continuing double-digit inflation. Also embarrassing, a leaked Finance Ministry working paper anticipated rising unemployment and a further devaluation of the franc against the West German mark (which rose after the Social Democratic defeat last weekend in Bonn).

Adding to the appearance of disarray, Gen. Jean Delamare resigned last as army chief of staff. He objects to Government priorities that would cut back the 311,166-man army to pay for nuclear weaponry.

"Our problem is to keep from getting scared," said Louis Mermaz, President of the National Assembly. And the Socialist Party leader, Lionel Jospin, himself a defeated candidate for the Paris City Council, rallied his troops against "a hard-line, retrograde and brutal right."

Nkomo Flees For His Life

Joshua Nkomo, once the grand old man of Zimbabwe nationalism, last week completed the long slide from patriarch to official pariah. Fleeing what he said were Government-inspired attempts on his life and a treason trial, Mr. Nkomo took refuge in Botswana, where the welcome was apprehensive. Zimbabwe's Government-orchestrated press said his presence meant Botswana (population 810,000) was "declaring war on us" (population 7.6 million). Officials sneered that the portly 66-year-old leader had left "unconventionally," disguised as a "fat old woman." Neighboring Zambia, his pre-independence headquarters, looked the other way. The railroad crossing Zimbabwe is Zambia's trade lifeline and an official in Lusaka warned, "Nkomo must not embroil Zambia." To the relief of both Botswana and Zambia, Mr. Nkomo caught a British Airways flight to London yesterday, arriving in Johannesburg minutes before it left.

President Robert Mugabe's Government shut the offices of Mr. Nkomo's minority party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, in its home base, Matabeleland. The Government has blamed the Nkomo political machine for the deaths of more than 120 people killed by army deserters classed as "dissidents." It sent in the army's North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade of soldiers loyal to Mr. Mugabe. Hundreds, perhaps a thousand, of Mr. Nkomo's Ndebele tribespeople have been killed since January.

Mr. Nkomo said Government forces searching for him had ransacked his home and killed his driver. Sydney Sekeramayi, the President's top defense aide, admitted that "some people get quite bruised before they are willing to cooperate." But he insisted the Government had made "strenuous efforts" to protect unarmed civilians.

The Nonaligned Spread the Blame

Extending hospitality last week to leaders of 101 countries professing nonalignment, India garlanded New Delhi with flowers and removed street beggars and monkey tamers. But Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's efforts to steer the organization away from the anti-American tilt favored by her predecessor as chairman, Cuba's Fidel Castro, met only partial success in a final resolution that stressed the third world's urgent need for financial help.

On other matters, the document condemned American military and political support of Israel, which it said should be brought before a "war crimes tribunal." The United States was also accused of violating "commitments" to protect Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and of bringing an "extraneous issue" — Cuban troops in Angola — into negotiations on Namibian independence. More evenhanded on other matters, the conference told both Washington and Moscow to keep their disputes out of Latin America, called for a ban on use and production of nuclear weapons and criticized plans to deploy them. Without naming the Soviet Union and Vietnam, it demanded withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Henry Ginzler
and Milt Freudenheim

Barriers to Pope's Central American 'Dialogue'

Both Right and Left Put Their Faith in Firepower

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY — During his Central American tour, Pope John Paul II received the loudest ovations when he gave voice to the plight of the region's "silent majority" that is caught in the crossfire of political extremes. The Pope said answers must be found not through violence but through dialogue "without outside interference."

But with the Pope's call for peace still reverberating, the region last week braced for more war. President Reagan requested \$110 million for military aid to El Salvador's Government, besieged by leftist guerrillas who now seem convinced that victory is in sight. And as Nicaragua's leftist regime was preparing for a predicted coordinated offensive by exile groups by



Guerrilla fighter in El Salvador.

summer, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Sandinist leader, said Nicaragua reserved the right to acquire Soviet MIG jets. If the offensive happens, and fails, it could be Nicaragua's "Bay of Pigs," reprising the 1961 exile invasion that hastened the radicalization of the Castro regime in Cuba.

If, as the Pope insisted, dialogue is an alternative in Central America and particularly for El Salvador and Nicaragua, why is it not tested?

Washington's resistance, reiterated by President Reagan last week in his opposition to negotiations "that would distribute power among armed groups without the consent of the people of El Salvador," can be traced in part to recent events in Nicaragua. Before the July 1979 revolution, in talks with the United States and governments of the region, the Nicaraguan Sandinists promised to respect political pluralism at home and to follow nonaligned policies abroad. Their subsequent swing to the left undermined the credibility of dialogue with all Marxists.

Still, many leaders with strong anti-Communist credentials believe that negotiated solutions are feasible. During his eight-day visit, John Paul lost no opportunity to warn peasants, Indians, workers, priests and lay preachers against the temptations of Marxism. Yet he repeatedly called for dialogue in societies decimated by intolerance and distrust. Last week, Costa Rica's President Luis Alberto Monge, a firm ally of the United States and a strong critic of the Sandinists, said he had invited El Salvador's warring factions to San José and offered to mediate. "For the good of the people of that nation, a peaceful solution to the conflict must be sought," Mr. Monge said. Costa Rican officials said the non-Marxist opposition leaders, Guillermo Manuel Ungo and Ruben Zamora, had accepted Mr. Monge's offer and that El Salvador's President Alvaro Magaña had been informed. Earlier calls by the guerrilla-led coalition for "unconditional dialogue," however, were rejected by Mr. Magaña and the Salvadoran Army High Command.

Nearly Latin American countries have urged negotiations in El Salvador and also between Nicaragua and Honduras, where many anti-Sandinist rebels are based. Plans are afoot for Mex-

ico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama and the Dominican Republic to meet in Santo Domingo with the Central American Governments of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica to try to reduce tensions. The United States has not been invited to the meeting but Mr. Reagan said, "We wish it well."

Hopes for dialogue seem trapped in the conflicting visions held by Washington and many regional governments. The Administration views the area through the prism of a broader East-West power struggle in which United States national security is threatened. But the regional countries hope for Latin American solutions to Latin American problems. Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia now seem willing to share responsibility for stability, but Washington apparently doubts they could provide the guarantees it finds necessary against the threats it perceives to its security interests. The "effort to stop the advance of Communism," in Mr. Reagan's phrase, is a task Washington seems unwilling to entrust to others.

Nicaragua's Sandinist rulers have also rejected dialogue — with rightist exile groups in Honduras and also with followers of the former Sandinist commander, Eden Pastora Gomez, now in Costa Rica. The Sandinists offer to talk only with Washington and the Honduran Government. At home, they have dismissed repeated efforts by opposition leaders to get rid of press censorship and other controls on political freedoms, arguing that the restrictions are required to defend the revolution against United States "aggression."

The United States-backed Salvadoran Government and the Cuban-backed Nicaraguan regime both seem to feel that acceptance of dialogue would imply a questioning of their legitimacy that would lead to erosion of their power base. Conversely, Salvadoran rebels and Nicaraguan exiles argue that, in the absence of negotiations, they have no choice but to continue fighting.

Frustrated officials in Mexico, Venezuela and other nearby countries watch in alarm, fearing that without even an attempt at negotiations, Central America may be advancing toward more bloodshed and less stability. Few officials in the region believe that El Salvador or Nicaragua can resolve their political difficulties through increased military buildup. Pope John Paul spoke for millions in the region last week in calling for an end to violence, but his message did not seem to persuade the ruling factions of left and right and their backers in Havana and Washington. Calling for increased military aid 12 hours after the Pontiff returned to Rome, President Reagan said Central America countries were undergoing the gravest crisis in their history. "The problem," he said, "is that an aggressive minority has thrown in its lot with the Communists, looking to the Soviets and their Cuban henchmen to help them pursue political change through violence. Nicaragua has become their base."

Washington Increases Use of Overseas Military Maneuvers

Gunboat Diplomacy Updated for the 80's

By MICHAEL WRIGHT

It's a rare day when the United States military isn't on the march somewhere in the world.

In South Korea, the first shots were to be fired today in Team Spirit 83, a month-long war game worthy of Hollywood. The cast includes nearly 70,000 American military personnel, three dozen Navy ships and 118,000 Republic of Korea troops. Meanwhile, a force that will grow to include 36 warships, among them three aircraft carriers, began assembling last week in the Caribbean. British and Dutch frigates are due to join in three weeks of training maneuvers, the most extensive held in the area in years.

In recent weeks, Central America has been a focus of American military activity as well. The Administration is considering increasing the number of uniformed advisers in El Salvador; on Friday, Pentagon officials disclosed that an Air Force-operated radar station was to be established in Honduras to help track Nicaraguan gun runners. In early February, American sailors, soldiers and airmen participated in week-long maneuvers in Honduras. At times the action ranged within a dozen miles of the frontier with Nicaragua, which the Administration regards as the Marxist scourge of the region. Later in the month, the mock battlefield shifted southward; 9,000 American troops and Panamanian national guardsmen practiced defending the Panama Canal.

A primary purpose of the 60 or so maneuvers the United States conducts every year with foreign countries is training, Pentagon officials say; a fighting force needs to practice fighting, to see how well its tanks and helicopters and rifles hold up under concentrated use and abuse. But the frequently controversial exercises and more spontaneous displays of might also seem designed to demonstrate that Washington is both trustworthy and not to be trifled with.

When Diplomacy Fails

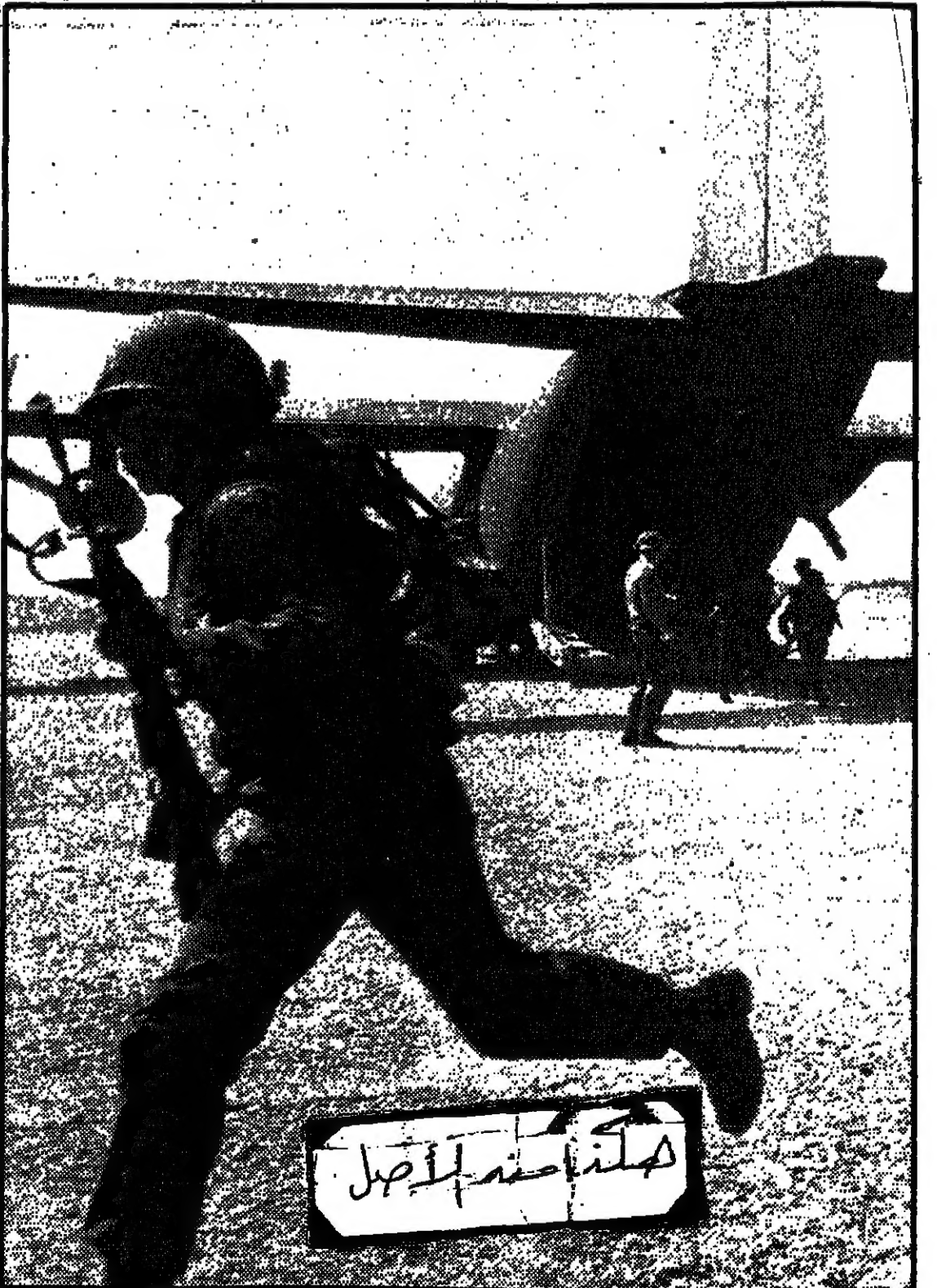
"The military has always been a very important element of our foreign policy; that didn't start with Ronald Reagan," says Representative William S. Broomfield, senior Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "When you have a problem with a country like Libya, conventional diplomacy just doesn't work."

Washington's friends, however, don't always appreciate the trouble that's been gone to — or the risks taken — on their behalf. Last month, near the conclusion of Big Pine, the maneuvers held in Honduras, Honduran officers and civilian leaders complained bitterly that the exercise had done little more than underscore their country's dependence on the United States. In 1981, after two Navy F-14 fighters shot down two Libyan planes, several conservative, nominally pro-American Middle Eastern countries accused the Administration of pursuing "cowboy diplomacy."

Similar criticisms are often heard in Washington. As Big Pine was starting, 75 Congressmen sent a letter of protest to the White House. "Big Pine was not a particularly wise way of bolstering our ties with the Hondurans," says Representative Michael D. Barnes, the Maryland Democrat who heads the subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. "The exercise had to have strengthened the hand of the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua."

There's nothing new, of course, about showing the flag. "It's one of the oldest forms of diplomacy," says Robert G. Neumann, a former ambassador to Afghanistan, Morocco and Saudi Arabia who is now with the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. "And you can make adjustments for the impact you want to make."

A post-Vietnam lull in such displays ended during the Carter Administration, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Since Mr. Reagan became Commander-in-Chief, authorities say, the assertive uses of American warships, fighter planes and infantrymen have accelerated.



Honduran soldiers hit the ground running during military exercises with U.S. troops last month.

In the fall of 1981, not long after the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, Bright Star, a rapid deployment force exercise, was quickly expanded. Altogether, 6,500 Americans took part, one of the largest concentrations of United States fighting men seen in the Middle East since World War II.

In addition to the overseas maneuvers, which are sometimes months in the planning, observers have noted more than a dozen occasions when the Reagan Administration has used the military to make a fast point. A Green Beret unit was airlifted to Liberia in April 1981, for example, to help commemorate the first anniversary of President Samuel K. Doe's coup — and to help keep his enemies at bay. Last month, in response to what the Reagan Administration said were Libya's designs on the Sudan, the aircraft carrier Nimitz was dispatched to patrol the waters off North Africa and four Aegis electronic surveillance airplanes were hurriedly flown to Egypt for what was first described as a training exercise.

Many of the naval displays have taken place in the Mediterranean. A few months after the downing of the Libyan fighters over the Gulf of Sidra, an area Tripoli claims as territorial waters, two American destroyers sailed without incident through disputed waters off the coast of Albania.

The pace of American flag-showing seems unlikely to ease. For one thing, many analysts believe, the emphasis the Administration has given to beefing up the armed forces will probably increase the likelihood of the Pentagon's being called into play. "We're not going to spend all this money on the military and then keep it parked in the garage," a private defense expert said.

The Economy

Prospects

The Rush to Service

America's shift away from manufacturing toward service industries has been well-documented. But now it may be speeding up. To measure the amount of shift, Goldman Sachs economists Gary M. Wengowski and Rosanne Cahn looked at how much each industry contributed to the economy, and how much that had changed since 1950. The period from 1976 to 1981 showed the greatest movement, and many people expect the shifts in years ahead to be more pronounced still.

The industry with the largest proportional growth between 1976 and 1981 was real estate. It went from 7.8 percent of national income to 9.2 percent. The area that shrank the most in recent years was durable goods manufacturing. It fell to 14.3 percent of national income in 1981, from 15.3 percent in 1976. Retail trade, state and local government and manufacturing of nondurable goods also fell significantly as a share of the economy.

Indexing Without Inflation

With soaring inflation, automatic cost-of-living adjustments became a common fixture in wage contracts. Critics said this practice, known as indexing, pushed wages higher than justified by the increases in worker productivity, leading to fewer jobs and higher inflation. Now there are suggestions that indexing would not hurt if wages were tied to something other than the commonly used Consumer Price Index. At a recent economics symposium at the University of Pennsylvania, several participants proposed linking wages to the G.N.P. deflator or the national income deflator. The goal is to allow workers to benefit from increases in productivity and output but not to give them wage increases when the general price level is pushed up by rising import prices or tax increases.

"Indexing by itself is not a surrender to inflation, as it is believed in Washington," said Albert Ando, an economics professor at the university. "It can get you in big trouble if something is indexed in the wrong way. But if used properly, it becomes automatically possible for everyone to share equitably in wage increases and in the consequences of an oil price shock."

Happy Days on Wall Street

Things have been going well on Wall Street. The stock market, despite last week's minor setback, has been surging. Trading volume has been good. The number of new securities issues has been running at record highs.

All of this should add up to a marvelous quarter for the securities industry, following a record year last year. And if business continues good, 1983 could be a new high, too.

"Everything is booming," said industry analyst Perrin Long of Lipper Analytical Services Inc. He is predicting pretax earnings of \$3.75 billion in 1983 for New York Stock Exchange firms doing business with the public, up from \$3 billion last year. Mr. Long warns, however, that this is no guarantee of stunning profit margins. Despite last year's record earnings, for example, profit margins were below those in 1976. "It is taking increased levels of business to get the same profits," he said.

Money Supply Knee-Jerks

Some claim the markets overreact to the Federal Reserve's weekly money supply reports. Higher-than-anticipated figures, for example, usually send rates up within a matter of hours. But a recent study concluded that perhaps investors do not react enough.

"Our evidence showed that when the money supply figures were \$1 billion greater than expected, rates on three-month Treasury bills jumped 10 basis points over the next 24 hours," said Robert J. Schiller, a professor of economics at Yale University, who conducted the study with two of his graduate students. But based on how much bill rates rose during the next several months, the researchers concluded that if the markets operated as efficiently as some economists suggest — reacting immediately and completely to new information — the rates should have jumped as much as 36 basis points. (A basis point is one-hundredth of a percentage point.) Mr. Schiller cautioned, however, that the statistical results were not entirely conclusive.

New barriers to the flow of information are on the rise and business is worried.

By DAVID E. SANGER

EACH day, from offices and construction sites in 100 countries, employees of Dresser Industries tap into the company's central computers in the United States. Through a complex network of terminals and satellites, the data base spews forth a torrent of up-to-the-minute design information, financial data, personnel files and inventory listings — all crucial to operations of the giant oil and gas equipment maker.

But for a few weeks of corporate agony last August, President Reagan cut Dresser's computer lifeline. To enforce his sanctions against companies building the Soviet Union's trans-Siberian pipeline across Western Europe, Mr. Reagan ordered the Dallas-based company to end all technical communications with its French subsidiary, which was manufacturing compressors for the project.

"We had no choice," recalled Edward R. Luter, senior vice president for finance. "Somebody in Pittsburgh," where Dresser's data base was then situated, "flipped the switch, and suddenly Dresser-France was cut off." Almost immediately, an Australian company terminated a \$3 million order with Dresser-France, realizing that without access to the central data base the company was virtually paralyzed.

What happened to Dresser-France so dramatically is happening slowly and subtly in a host of other nations, such as West Germany, Brazil, Canada, Japan and France. Governments, worried about recession and concerned about prospects of weak growth, are placing increasing restrictions on one of the most sensitive and essential elements of international business — the rapid transfer of computerized information across national borders.

In some instances, like Dresser Industries, government interference has been specific and short-lived. But an increasing number of cases, government intrusion in the free flow of information is systematic and part of what many American companies have come to see as a worrisome expansion of protectionism.

Examples abound: In an effort to spur its own data processing industry and create new jobs, Brazil recently refused to permit International Business Machines and other American-based companies operating there to hook into international data bases by satellite. The companies have been forced to build duplicate facilities in Brazil and to use local labor.

Canada in recent years has put restrictions on the common banking practice of sending daily records by satellite to computers in London or New York, where they are processed and returned by the opening of business the next day. At least some of the processing now must be done in Canada.

France is trying to find a way to tax computer programs, which many fear may be the first step in a broader effort to place a tariff value on information channeled by computer, which could lead to a nightmare for international trade.

Such American concerns about data restrictions are viewed by many abroad as sour grapes. Said one international economics official: "From a European perspective, it's not free flow the Americans want, it's a free-for-all flow — and may the biggest win."

provided a different signal — that the recovery might not be as strong as expected. The drop was a small four-tenths of 1 percent, but was the third straight month of reduced retail spending. Citibank, in its Economic Week newsletter, said final sales to consumers were "critical to the ultimate tenor of recovery" and that all indications were consumer buying was still not vigorous enough to fit into the "boom category."

Martin Feldstein also warned that a robust recovery might not be in the making. The President's chief economic adviser is concerned that there could be a "psychological flip-flop" if other February numbers — following the retail sales figures — show a more subdued economic performance than expected after January's 3.6 percent gain in the nation's leading indicators.

Business, itself, remains cautious. The Commerce Department said corporate America plans to increase capital spending in the second half of 1983, but that total outlays on plant and equipment for the entire year would still drop 3.8 percent, adjusted for inflation, after a decline of 5.5 percent last year. That's bad news for a White House still waiting for business to get the supply-side boom going.

Stock and bond prices fell. The credit markets, nervous about next

How Nations Slow Data Flows

Restrictions on the flow of information across borders take many forms. Some protect the privacy of citizens and have posed few problems for corporations. Others, however, appear designed to protect local industry at the expense of multinational corporations. What follows are key restrictions in four countries:

West Germany: The Government requires significant local processing of all data transmitted over a combination of special private lines and public telephone facilities. The effect is to prevent companies from the substantial savings possible through sharing private data transmission lines. Rates on private lines will also rise by about 600 percent by 1988.

Canada: A 1980 banking act prevents the processing of bank transactions outside of Canadian boundaries unless some processing is also conducted domestically. Transmitting financial data outside of the country or subsequent manipulation of that data requires Government approval.

Brazil: Corporations are required to maintain copies of most computer data bases in Brazil, rather than hooking up to existing data bases outside the country. Most offshore processing of Brazilian data is prohibited. Whenever possible, companies must purchase Brazilian equipment and software.

France: While no explicit restrictions are in effect, France has led efforts to impose duties and value-added taxes on imported computer software. A report issued by a French ministry several years ago suggested the need to assess information according to its intrinsic value, although the future of that proposal is in doubt.

For companies long accustomed to moving information at will, and at minimum cost, such initiatives have come as a shock. Their response is to brace for battle and to send their lobbyists scurrying about Washington to alert legislators to the dangers and to explore the possibility of countermeasures.

"We are on the verge of an information war," said Hugh P. Donaghy, vice president of the Control Data Corporation, noting the sharp upturn in the number of executives and lobbyists from major American corporations — like Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Sperry Rand and Univac — who now attend regular State Department meetings on what has become known as the problem of "trans-border data flows."

For many of these executives, the problem is stunningly new. When information restrictions first began to appear in Europe during the 1970's, American businessmen generally brushed the matter aside. Europeans then were largely concerned with guaranteeing the privacy of their citizens, whose vital statistics were being stored by the multinationals in data bases in foreign nations and bound by foreign statutes. Such worries have been resolved, at least temporarily, by actions taken by the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Now the concern in Europe and the third world has turned from privacy to jobs, and the debate has become nastier. Like the Atari Democrats in the United States Congress, foreign governments are increasingly pinning their hopes for economic growth on the development of high technology and information-based industries. Since the United States is the major force in this business — accounting for about 80 percent of all the data processing performed worldwide — American-based multinationals have become the targets of the new protectionism.

"They understand that in this age, along with the transmission of information goes a migration of jobs," says Arthur A. Bushkin, president of Telemation Associates, which provides advice on information strategies to multinationals and foreign governments alike.

Thus, the transmission of information has become for many governments a commodity of sorts — not merely a tool necessary for conducting business in

modern times. Information transmission creates jobs and it can be used to generate tax revenues as it crosses borders.

There are, of course, still skeptics in the business world who think the mounting concern over data protection laws is alarmist. They concede that some foreign countries have raised the cost of doing business abroad by data restraints, but they think these actions are a minor problem for the multinationals.

And on the part of governments, there seems to be an increasing realization that the issue is immensely complicated and the villainy often unclear. "People are trying to understand what is being talked about instead of responding with a lot of knee-jerk reactions," said Peter Robinson, chairman of the O.E.C.D.'s policy group on information flow issues.

Mr. Donaghy responds that if the United States fails to act against data restraints abroad, the problem will worsen. Last week the Commerce Department's National Telecommunications and Information Administration, previously criticized by several American multinationals for ignoring the problem, agreed with Mr. Donaghy. It issued the strongest American statement on the issue to date.

In a 300-page report to the Senate, the agency warned that emerging restrictions on the transfer of information are eroding the American position in telecommunications and high-technology markets, with potentially "catastrophic" effects over the long term to the economy. Discussing the need for a strong national information policy, the report also called for a truce in the long-standing turf battle among more than two dozen Federal agencies currently making American communications policy.

But, at a time when European efforts are highly coordinated through state-run Post, Telephone and Telegraph services, known as P.T.T.'s, the United States is moving toward deregulation of its communications industry, making competition with Europe all the more difficult.

While the United States remains an advocate of free information flows, it has, in fact, already used information as a potent trade weapon itself — and not only in last summer's initiative against Dresser Industries. Recent restrictions on the dissemination of the Canadian Film Board's movies about acid rain and about the medical effects of nuclear war have brought discomfort to Commerce De-

partment bureaucrats preaching the virtues of free information flows.

"I don't look forward to talking to my European friends," lamented one Commerce Department official, who was headed for Paris last week for an international review of compliance with the O.E.C.D.'s guidelines.

Those guidelines, passed in 1980, were the first restrictions on data flows over borders in the computer age. The rules prevent the transmission of personal information to any jurisdiction that fails to protect it against unauthorized use. About 180 major American companies have agreed to comply voluntarily, and so far there have been few complaints with the system.

The privacy issue, however, is not dead. Stricter guidelines have been proposed by the Council of Europe, although they have not yet been ratified.

But now the economic issue is emerging as a more important information-flow question — and a more prickly one for the nations involved. The first salvo was fired by Brazil. Last year it became the first nation to file a case study of its information and telecommunications policies with the United Nations Center on Transnational Corporations, and the document was considered a beacon for other third-world nations.

The paper defended laws requiring companies in Brazil to buy Brazilian equipment and build data bases with local labor. Another constraint was added in December, requiring such companies to use Brazilian software if it is "similar" to software available elsewhere.

The report, highly praised even by those who disagree with the argument, also contained hints that a passion for national sovereignty lay behind the Brazilian move. "Since information resources are considered to be crucial for decision-making and major sources of economic and political power," the Brazilians wrote, "their location and use are of great importance."

To prevent the Brazilian restrictions from spreading to other countries, both government and business officials here agree that the United States must make a strong response to them. But there is apparently little confidence that the Administration is up to the job.

The International Organizations Monitoring Service, a Washington-based watchdog for multinationals, reported recently that businessmen meeting at the State Department expressed deep concern that the Administration does not see the issue as a "high priority" and may "do more harm than good" with an inadequate defense of the American position.

Even if the Government were to make the issue a top priority, it is not easy to establish that every restriction on data flow is motivated by protectionism. For example, many countries have developed communications standards that are not compatible with American-made equipment, arguing that American standards are not necessarily the best.

Other restrictions arise from what some American trade officials acknowledge are legitimate efforts to finance expensive local telecommunications networks.

In West Germany, for example, the P.T.T. is raising rates for transmission of data on private leased lines, the sort that multinationals and major domestic companies use to transmit data. Despite cries of protectionism, Germany defends the change as an effort to bring private line rates into uniformity with the volume-sensitive rates charged on the public facilities used by smaller concerns. Still, anything that impedes the use of private lines raises fears among multinationals. The use of government-owned networks invites government scrutiny of information, they say.

Worries over government interference with examination of content is also a key issue in France, which four years ago became the first major industrial nation to suggest that information might be taxed according to its intrinsic value. Until now, information duties have been based on the medium, not the message.

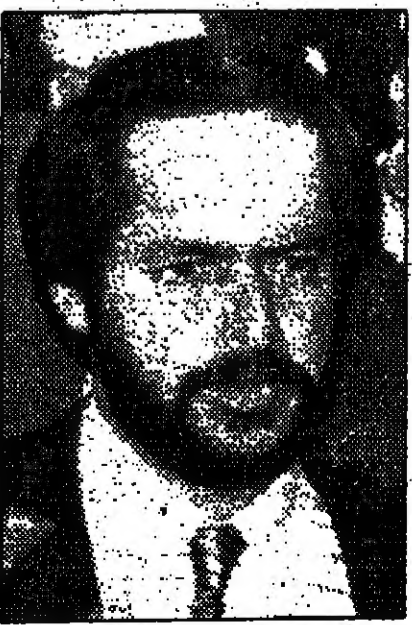
WEEK IN BUSINESS

A Bruised OPEC Battles in Britain

A fragmented OPEC again failed to agree on price cuts and production quotas. After a second weeklong round of talks in London, the Iranians were bickering with the Saudis who were bickering with the Nigerians who were bickering with everyone. But they seemed to be heading toward an "understanding" — to knock down prices by \$5 a barrel, to \$29. Most analysts seemed confident the price would fall even further, giving recession-weary consumers what economists said would be tantamount to one swift and giant tax cut.

That's one tax cut that Paul Volcker would like to offset. The Fed chairman warned a House panel that sharply lower oil prices could subvert conservation efforts, reduce exploration by oil companies and ultimately lead to higher oil prices. He said that a new tax on crude oil, a proposal that has split the Administration and that Congressional Democrats oppose, could lessen these economic shocks — not to mention what such a tax would do to reduce the Federal budget gap.

Reining in the money supply is also on Paul Volcker's agenda. Over the past few months M1 has been climbing at a rate of 11 percent, and Mr. Volcker told Congress that this pace "has been higher than I think is compatible" with falling inflation. Those remarks sent interest rates up and



Mana Saeed al Otaiba of the United Arab Emirates, a weary OPEC minister.

stock prices down as investors feared that the Fed — always on the lookout for inflationary signals — would be less likely to ease credit conditions from now on.

A February decline in retail sales

provided a different signal — that the recovery might not be as strong as expected. The drop was a small four-tenths of 1 percent, but was the third straight month of reduced retail spending. Citibank, in its Economic Week newsletter, said final sales to consumers were "critical to the ultimate tenor of recovery" and that all indications were consumer buying was still not vigorous enough to fit into the "boom category."

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Stock and bond prices fell. The credit markets, nervous about next

week's heavy slate of Government debt issues and stunned by Moody's decision to lower A.T. & T.'s debt rating, pushed interest rates substantially higher. The Dow Jones average suffered two big one-day declines as Wall Street seemed less sure of itself, less sure of the Fed and less sure of the economic outlook. The Dow finally closed at 1,117.74, down 23.22 points.

Movers and Shakers: Harold Geenen, the merger maker who built I.T.T. into what it is today, is leaving the conglomerate's board after 25 years. David Judelson, passed over as Charles Bluhdorn's successor at Gulf & Western, resigned as president and chief operating officer.

West Germany's stock market — and its currency — soared after Chancellor Helmut Kohl's election victory. The Commerzbank index registered its sharpest one-day gain in 22 years as it moved up to its highest level since 1978. The mark's strength put further pressure on the failing French franc, which seems headed for its third devaluation since Francois Mitterrand's Socialists took power — perhaps as soon as next week.

For Bechtel, the game is over. The engineering company plans to sell its majority stake in Dillon Read — purchased during the Wall Street takeover wave sparked by Prudential — to the firm's managing directors for an undisclosed amount.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED MARCH 11, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
ATT (Consolidated)	7,460,100	86 1/2	+	2
John Jn	5,197,600	46	+	2
Natcom	5,160,900	15 1/2	+	1 1/2
Exxon	4,743,700	31	+	1 1/2
Citibank	4,543,900	39 1/2	+	2 1/2
Supr Oil	4,080,900	35 1/2	+	1 1/2
Pepsi Co	3,682,600	34 1/2	+	2 1/2
K mart	3,569,700	30 1/2	+	1 1/2
IBM	3,521,900	100 1/2	+	1 1/2
Sears	2,632,800	35 1/2	+	1 1/2
Int Tl	2,564,100	35	+	1 1/2
G Mot	2,516,900	59 1/2	+	2
Mobil	2,364,500	28 1/2	+	1 1/2
All Rich	2,303,600	41 1/2	+	1 1/2
Goodyr	2,301,500	30	+	1 1/2

Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	173.8	168.2	169.7	-2.50
20 Transp	27.0	26.1	26.3	-0.45
40 Util	63.7	61.8	62.1	-1.12
40 Financial	18.9	18.1	18.2	-0.69
500 Stocks	15.9	14.9	15.1	-2.43

Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1149.5	1107.3	1117.7	-23.22
20 Transp	514.1	497.0	503.3	-7.78
15 Util	130.4	126.2	126.9	-2.31
65 Comb	454.9	439.3	443.3	-8.34

The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED MARCH 11, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
ImpCh	1,985,300	8 1/2	+	1/4
Wang B	1,847,100	32 1/2	+	1 1/2
DomeP	911,500	3 1/16	+	1/4
ChmpH	656,200	5 1/2	+	1/4
Cyprus	651,100	1 1/2	+	1/4
NKinney	601,000	5 1/2	+	1/4
BmFB	536,200	35 1/2	+	1/4
TexAir	533,300	10	+	1/4
MtchIE	511,700	18	+	1/4
TIE	511,100	47 1/2	+	1 1/2

MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	415	495		
Declines	386	306		
Total Issues	916	915		
New Highs	208	186		
New Lows	3	8		

VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Total Sales	410,369,670	4,305,349,309		
Same Per. 1982	305,297,020	2,574,830,583		

WEEK'S MARKET ANALYSIS				
	High	Low	Last Change	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	102.1	100.0	100.3	-1.49
Transp	83.6	82.3	82.6	-0.82
Util	46.5	45.7	45.9	-0.59
Finance	95.0	92.2	92.4	-2.80
Composite	88.8	87.0	87.2	-1.34

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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE D. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

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Moral Hunger

When Jacob Needleman, a professor of philosophy at San Francisco State, went to California to teach in 1962, he was struck by young people's interest in religious thought. "I realized," he later wrote, "that the moral vacuum of our culture" was driving them to reach out for new ideas; he sensed "a raw hunger for transcendence."

A raw hunger for transcendence. Which of us has not had a similar sense about young Americans searching for a higher purpose, for causes larger than themselves? It is, arguably, the same hunger that draws young people to the Reverend Moon and other cults. It is, arguably, why many Americans, and not only the young, feel uneasy about the egocentrism of modern society.

Public figures seem to sense the hunger. In a morally fervid speech last week, President Reagan assailed sexual permissiveness at home and, God on our side, communism abroad. On the same day, Mayor Koch spoke out on "the spirit of altruism which is a basic part of every human being." But his speech, like one two days earlier by Franklin Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, was affirmative, advocating an idea that could powerfully meet the moral hunger: universal service.

It's hardly a new idea. William James advocated it in his famous 1910 essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War." Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower favored it. Various versions differ; for instance, should it be compulsory or voluntary? But the underlying idea is the same: all citizens, sometime after turning 18, should give a year or more of military or civilian service.

The idea appeals to a strikingly broad spectrum of interests. On one side are those concerned about the cost and quality of the volunteer army, who worry that Russia spends only a quarter of its military budget on pay while we spend more than half of ours. On the other side are people concerned about the empty lives of urban youth who lack work, or even any hope of work, in-between are people interested in "protecting the environment, serving the schools, helping the elderly."

And for all parts of the spectrum there's the appeal of helping young people of every class seek fulfillment in something larger than self.

If universal service possesses such universal

virtue, why didn't America embrace it long ago? Because the difficulties look as daunting as the benefits look compelling.

For one thing, compulsory service would be vulnerable to legal attack as involuntary servitude; the Constitution specifies conscription only for the military. That's not an overwhelming objection. One might as well describe compulsory school attendance as involuntary servitude. Still, Americans do not find compulsion easy to accept.

Would there be enough genuinely useful work for the three million-plus people who turn 18 each year? Franklin Thomas cites an Urban Institute study showing social needs that could absorb all of them in service jobs without displacing other workers. Mayor Koch offers an array of urban examples like pruning street trees, escorting the elderly and putting new locks on burglary victims' doors.

Still, wouldn't many jobs, urban or rural, be unacceptably difficult, degrading? The Mayor calls attention to the California Conservation Corps, which combats oil spills, forest fires and mud slides and where the motto is "Hard work, low pay, miserable conditions." Nonetheless, there is usually a long waiting list to join up.

The much tougher problem would be management. Imagine matching millions of young people with millions of jobs, in a Federal and state and local and union framework. And think of the jobs that would have to be created — for supervisors. Assume a ratio of 1 to 20. With three million participants, that would mean 150,000 bureaucrats.

Finally, a truly universal program would be truly expensive. The Mayor estimates \$25 billion or more a year. But cost is not necessarily an objection; it's a way of measuring worth. If universal service can be made as practical as it is worthy, it would be wholly worth paying for.

We say try it, but gradually. To start with a nationwide, mandatory program is inconceivable. What's perfectly conceivable is a sizable, voluntary experiment: The American Conservation Corps, just passed by the House, with up to 100,000 jobs, could provide the scale and variety necessary to weigh some of the principles and practicalities. It's an experiment richly worth the effort: the raw hunger for transcendence endures.

The Double Fire

We've seen the brains blown from the skull of a Vietnamese and a truck overturn near the Washington Monument when its driver got a bullet in his head. We've seen the sad man leap and the drowning man lose hold of the life preserver. And last week, television viewers in Jacksonville, Ala., saw a drunken man set fire to himself. The scenes were alike in their horror, but the last was different in one particular. Those who filmed that blaze were not just witnesses to tragedy, they were also its stage managers.

Cecil Andrews, an unemployed roofer, called WHMA-TV four times on Friday, March 4, to say that to protest unemployment in America, he was going to set himself on fire in the town square. The station's news director notified the police, who said they'd handle it and that the station could send reporters along for a "free ride."

The police searched the square for nearly an hour, found no one and left. About 20 minutes later two TV cameramen arrived to find Mr. Andrews staggering from wherever he'd been and fumbling with a matchbook.

The TV crew said they tried to "delay" Mr. Andrews by turning the camera lights on and off, wav-

ing a hat and telling him the equipment needed time to warm up. Then, in the 37 seconds after the crew started filming, Mr. Andrews doused his jeans with lighter fluid, put a match to his knee and fanned the small flame. When engulfed by it, he yelled to the cameramen, "Put it out!" They couldn't. Mr. Andrews, aflame, ran across the square. He is now in a Birmingham hospital.

Asked why they didn't try to stop him sooner, the cameramen said they kept expecting the police to show up. If they had appeared, of course, it would have produced another kind of movie: a brief documentary on how to prevent a man from incinerating himself.

There was, however, a simpler way to prevent Cecil Andrews's act. The extent to which the often-solicited presence of journalists exacerbates any situation is in our business a matter of legitimate and intense concern and debate. But the question of whether that Alabama camera crew was reporting or creating the news is easily answered. Two devices lit that nearly fatal fire: Mr. Andrews's match and the switch that set the cameras whirring.

Topics

Beneath Life's Façade

The Interview Cure

The fun, or horror, of a press conference is that almost anything can happen. As in an unscripted drama, the chief actor can forget his proper lines, lose his head, or spectacularly depart from the norms of decorum.

Take the press conference once held by the English composer William Walton, who died last week.

When he arrived in Argentina many years ago, a reporter, evidently running out of fittingly musical questions, asked him what he thought of Argentine women. The composer, no doubt fatigued by the long journey from home, replied he liked them so well that — pointing to a woman he had never seen before — he was going to marry that one. Three weeks later, he died.

At a later interview, according to his obituary, his wife offered the surprising reflection that "William doesn't really like music that much." He agreed: "A lot of the time I don't. It irritates me to madness, especially my own."

If you feel stuck in a rut, or unsure how to choose a wife or career, why not hold a press conference? Compose a work as startling as Sir William

Walton's "Façade" first, please, and we'll come.

Why Pandas?

Many endangered species inspire far more concern than love. The sight of a California condor doesn't provoke the urge to hug, and no one ever smiled foolishly at a bald eagle. Not so with the panda: whoever doesn't melt at the sight of a panda somersaulting or munching bamboo or lurching through a thicket has cement for a heart.

While watching them somersault, munch, lurch and, in one memorable instance, bleat for a boyfriend during a recent National Geographic documentary, we melters asked ourselves, "Why pandas?"

Had we been conditioned to dote on them by a childhood full of stuffed animals? Had our bedtime companion been, say, a mock-up of a snake, would we now be disposed to coo over nests of vipers?

Or is it intrinsically human to prefer the furry to the sleek, the teardrop eye to the slit and the waddle to the slither? Do pandas delight people because that's what pandas are for? If so,

that is all the more reason for us to hope they will be fruitful and multiply.

Electronic Leash

In Albuquerque, as elsewhere, over-worked probation officers are unable to keep up with minor offenders the judge wants supervised. The solution, inevitably, is high-tech.

A beeper strapped to a convict's leg permits probation officials to make sure he stays home when he's supposed to. It transmits a code picked up by a device attached to the wearer's telephone, which then relays the signal to probation monitors. If the subject removes the beeper or strays more than 1,000 feet from his phone, alarms go off at headquarters.

The cost of the electronic leash may even be recovered from the leashed. Albuquerque convicts must pay \$70 a month for the privilege.

But the product belongs in a wider market. Knowing somebody is home where they belong should appeal to the jealous spouse, the nervous parent, the tyrannical boss. The courts may be the least of those needing a cheap, discreet form of house arrest.

Letters

A Tax on Health Benefits Is the Wrong Remedy

To the Editor:

In his Feb. 28 Op-Ed article, "Tax Health Benefits," Thomas O. Pyle of the Harvard Community Health Plan argues that the elimination of all Federal income tax deductions for health insurance premiums will produce a better-managed health-care system and help to reduce the Federal budget deficit.

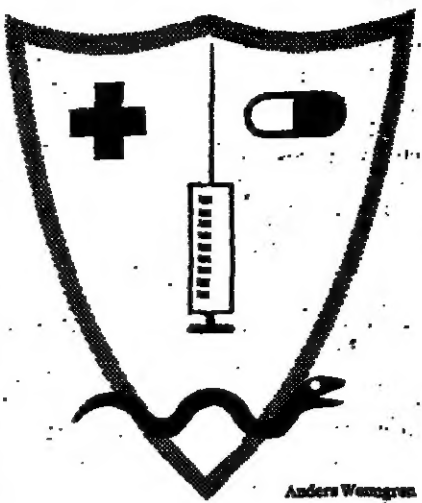
Although we share his view that health care can and must be better managed and are well aware of the success of his organization in so doing, we strongly disagree with his assessment about the impact of changing the tax treatment of health insurance.

First, taxing health insurance premiums is unlikely to have any substantial effect on cost-related decisions taken by most health-care providers. The increased taxes will be paid by subscribers, yet most medical orders originate not with subscriber/patients but with physicians and other health-care personnel. Precisely because patients play such a peripheral role in these medical decisions, the effect of taxing insurance premiums is misdirected.

While admittedly having a greater impact upon individuals in upper income brackets, this tax also will increase the number of middle- and lower-income employees who will be unable to retain full health-care coverage. As a result, these less wealthy individuals will likely be forced to accept deductible and co-payment schemes that, if they or members of their families should become ill, will impose significant financial hardships on them.

If the goal is to encourage more efficient management of health-care resources, the solution lies with making

the physicians who control those resources financially as well as medically accountable for their decisions. More direct regulatory approaches, and more health maintenance organizations of the caliber of Harvard Community Health Plan, can provide appropriate solutions to this problem. Increased taxation of subscriber/patients will not.



more socially suitable sources of sacrifice than health insurance benefits.

In brief, taxing employer contributions for their employees' health insurance — whether partially, as envisioned by the Reagan Administration, or completely, as suggested by Mr. Pyle — will do substantially more harm than good. Such proposals, if enacted, would have little restraining impact on health-care expenditures, while they would penalize middle- and lower-income workers who now have adequate health benefits.

By confusing health policy issues with Federal revenue-raising issues, such proposals can only impede the search for reforms necessary to resolve the current financial crises in both areas.

RICHARD B. SALTMAN
DAVID W. YOUNG
Boston, March 2, 1983

The writers are, respectively, research associate in political science and associate professor of management at Harvard's School of Public Health.

Defective Insurance

To the Editor:

We share Thomas O. Pyle's concern that President Reagan's proposed health-benefit tax is too limited, but we are convinced that the basic defect is the absence of standards for tax-subsidized health benefits.

There must be quality controls on health insurance as well as on medicine. The plans almost universally discriminate against children by denying benefits for essential prevention, such as periodic examination of children, childhood immunizations and adolescent checkups. By encouraging hospitalization and discouraging preventive medicine, the plans create inefficiencies and wasteful practices.

Taxpayers should not be subsidizing health insurance programs which contain major flaws and delay necessary care, leading to unnecessary illness and excessive use of hospitals and emergency rooms.

President Reagan acknowledged the perverse incentives of health insurance plans in his Feb. 28 message to Congress. He said that tax-free health benefits "contribute both to the persistence of inefficient forms of health-care financing and delivery and to overuse of health services." He well could have added that the present insurance programs almost guarantee future inflation. But this can be changed by redirecting the benefits to prevention and health maintenance services, beginning with children.

A first step toward long-term health-care cost containment should be the elimination of tax subsidies for defective and inequitable health insurance plans. We intend to work toward that goal.

JAMES E. STRAIN, M.D.
President
American Academy of Pediatrics
Denver, March 1, 1983

When Nation Building and Tribalism Clash

To the Editor:

Alan Cowell's piece on tribalism in Zimbabwe (Week in Review, Feb. 27) propagates a view of Africa that is all too familiar, namely that tribalism is an unacceptable barrier to nation building and effective state control. His reporting of Messrs. Mugabe and Nkomo swapping tribal abuse helps to confirm this. Cowell's account, I am sure, is based on fact.

But when we ask whether tribalism is the evil it is portrayed to be and whether the object of nation building is the most desirable goal in a pluralist society such as Zimbabwe, we are less sanguine about conventional wisdom.

Of course politics is tribal in a good sense. Special-interest groups proliferate in any free society, and their competition helps to impart a necessary dose of realism to politics. The inference we should draw from this is that the state must seek to reflect the pluralist heritage over which it presides and build its legitimacy on consent and consensus rather than

violence. To demand the removal of that heritage in the interest of statism is to plead for total state control.

It is a remarkable fact that African leaders are joined by both Russia and the West in perceiving the state as the instrument par excellence for economic development and social progress. The state thus comes to acquire a legitimacy of its own completely removed from existing forms of social organization.

The woes of Africa are not due to tribalism but to the inflexible attempt to create an omniscient state. Viewed in this way, tribalism can be seen as the refusal of ordinary people to be railroaded into conformity by an all-powerful state.

We should therefore be spending our time in seeking how tribalism might place rational checks on the proper bounds of political authority. The anti-Federalist legacy is far from dead.

LAMIN SANNEH
Assistant Professor of History
of Religion, Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass., March 2, 1983

Incomplete Critique Of a State Budget Cut

To the Editor:

New York State Assemblyman Richard N. Gottfried writes persuasively (Letter Feb. 26) "to illustrate the harm of the cut" to the arts in my proposed budget. He's right: we'll lose tens of millions of dollars in wages, sales and other business as a consequence of the \$4.5 million reduction in the arts budget.

But my information indicates that we stand to lose much more if we spare the arts and other worthwhile programs from the general reductions required to balance the budget in this uniquely difficult fiscal year. The obvious alternative is to raise taxes, a move that I believe would send businesses and jobs fleeing to other states.

Mr. Gottfried doesn't suggest a tax increase; nor does he recommend deeper cuts of other programs as a trade-off. He thus disregards a request that I've made repeatedly over the past five weeks: those suggesting changes in any budget item should tell us how to accommodate those changes without causing additional pain to other deserving members of the state family.

I look forward to a dialogue on this dilemma with Mr. Gottfried and other members of the Legislature.

MARIO CUOMO
Governor
Albany, March 8, 1983

The American Priority

To the Editor:

Television gives without having to be asked. Consumption of its message takes less effort than chewing a cracker soaked in milk.

So why, then, does Leonard H. Goldenson expect television viewers to hurry out to the polls on Election Day ("Attuning Voting to the TV Age," Op-Ed March 3)? What a foolish thing to ask of the millions whose minds have died while entranced by the glowing haze of prime time.

Television has been concentrating power, not distributing it, as is required of a democracy. The answer to the problem of voter apathy must reach far beyond what Mr. Goldenson suggests, into the very fiber of our being. The answer is to attune the millions of American television viewers to the idea that voting is important, not watching what television has to offer.

Democracy is a mission ever on the move. And everybody seems to be just looking on, instead of moving with it.

JAMES M. KYLLANDER
Morristown, N.J., March 4, 1983

Central America Unready for Massive Aid

To the Editor:

Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's proposal for a "Marshall Plan" for Central America (news story March 6) suggests a surprising naïveté in one of our senior foreign affairs officials.

The Marshall Plan succeeded largely because it was jointly undertaken by us and the Europeans, and because Western European countries had the social infrastructure, the skilled manpower, the responsible governments and the democratic institutions required to use effectively the massive postwar aid we so wisely provided. To take one specific example: Had Western Europe's free-trade unions not supported the aid program, Communist efforts to frustrate it might well have succeeded.

Central America still lacks the institutions, particularly the democratic

structure, to absorb creatively large doses of economic aid, so before undertaking any program on a Marshall scale, we must do more to encourage the development of genuine democratic practices. We must have assurances that the fruits of the aid will be shared equitably by all the people.

Can we trust Rios Montt in Guatemala or D'Aubuisson in El Salvador to administer large aid programs wisely and justly — in ways which not only will improve the desperately low living standards of their people but also encourage the development of the kinds of institutions that must underpin free societies?

PHILIP M. KAISER
Washington, March 8, 1983

The writer is a former Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs and a former U.S. Ambassador to Hungary and Austria.

Of Lawyers, Clients and Service That Must Be Free

To the Editor:

Your Feb. 11 editorial "Lawyers for Hire for Anything" suggests that the Model Rules amendments adopted by the American Bar Association's House of Delegates to prevent disclosure of client confidences protects the lawyer's financial interests and no one else's.

However, your critique does not fully express the degree to which the majority of delegates suggest such protection of financial interest should extend — or the ultimate fallacy of this reasoning.

The proposed rules now accord a lawyer whose client confides an intent to defraud others the right to withdraw from representation only when this is possible without injury to the client. Otherwise, the lawyer may go right on with the representation, and with the receipt of fees for continuing services in abetting the fraud.

This so clearly violates Model

Rules 1.2(d) and 8.4(b) — prohibiting lawyers from assisting a client in a fraud or acting in any manner reflecting adversely on the lawyer's honesty, trustworthiness or fitness as a lawyer — as to prohibit the lawyer from benefiting by receiving fees for such efforts.

In short, as the rules now read, they still subject to discipline any lawyer who continues to accept fees for services known to abet or assist a criminal or fraudulent act by a client.

Therefore, a lawyer who cannot disclose that a client is acting dishonestly will have to do so without benefiting financially from a continuing representation of an illicit activity.

Perhaps when lawyers realize this, they will join with those of us who formed the minority in favor of reinstating the rules as they were originally drafted by the Kutak Commission.

EMANUEL A. BONIG
Franklin, N.J., Feb. 28, 1983

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WASHINGTON

Reagan And the Court

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 12 — In considering who should be President from Jan. 20, 1985, until Jan. 20, 1989, it may be useful to remember that whoever occupies the White House during these last years of the 1980's is likely to nominate a majority of the members of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Five of the nine judges now on the Court are 74 or older. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. are 75; William J. Brennan Jr. is 76; Thurgood Marshall and Harry A. Blackmun are 74, and it's fairly sure that two or six years from now, they won't be any younger.

Accordingly, the next President — Ronald Reagan or whoever — will probably be able to influence, if not determine, the membership and philosophy of the Court, if, like F.D.R., he appoints middle-aged people, for the rest of the century. These could be the most important and enduring decisions he will make in the span of four years.

Recently, Justice Blackmun, in a remarkably frank interview in *The New York Times Magazine*, said he agreed with many other observers that the present Court tended to divide philosophically 2-4-3 — two on the liberal side, Brennan and Marshall; three on the conservative side, Chief Justice Burger, William H. Rehnquist and Sandra Day O'Connor; and the other four, Associate Justices Byron R. White, John Paul Stevens, Powell and Blackmun himself, in the middle.

What is interesting about this is that the two most liberal judges — Brennan at 76 and Marshall at 74 — are among the oldest, while two of the three most conservative members — Rehnquist at 58, and O'Connor at 52, are the youngest.

Maybe it's wrong to make too much of these actuarial statistics. Many judges on the Supreme Court of the United States have not voted the way Presidents thought they would, and a few have been very good when they were very old. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes served with distinction on the Court until he was 90, and once about that time, when he saw a beautiful woman walk past his house, he said: "Oh, to be 80 again!"

Even so, the ages of the Supreme Court members now are obviously an issue to be considered as we approach the Presidential election of 1984.

Not much has been said about this in public, but in private, President Reagan's conservative supporters have this very much in mind when they entreat him to seek a second term. They have some persuasive arguments for their party, if not for the country.

If he doesn't run again, they say, then the Republican Party might be irreparably split between the moderates and the conservative supply-siders. And if some Democrat takes over the White House in 1985, then the Democratic Party's nominees on the Supreme Court will define the law of the land for many years long after its President has retired.

There are so many Democrats seeking the Presidential nomination that they haven't given much thought to the nomination of judges or anybody else but themselves, but one day they'll get around to it. Meanwhile, you can be fairly sure about what Reagan would do with his appointments to the Court; if he had the chance, over the next decade.

He may waver and compromise from time to time on economic policy or military arms policy because the Congress has the power to compel him to do so, but few people around here would doubt his determination or right to put a conservative stamp on the Supreme Court, or question his ability to find qualified young conservative judges who would be confirmed by the Senate.

The immediate question is not how the President we elect in '84 would handle the issue, but whether over the next two years we can start a process of thinking in the press and debating among the people the relationship between the Presidency and the Court.

Some things we know: This is a very old Court. Some of the members are very tired and some are said to be not at all in good health. What the next President does to replace them depends largely on the accidents of life, death and politics.

President Carter didn't get to appoint anybody to the Court in his four years, while William Howard Taft, who went on to become a Chief Justice himself, in his single term had to pick six members — more than any other President except Washington and Roosevelt.

President Eisenhower appointed five; Johnson and Kennedy two, Nixon three, Ford one and Reagan, so far, one, but usually this didn't change the philosophical balance of power on the Court. Occasionally, though, time runs out and decisions have to be made.

It is especially important, now, because not only the Court is changing but the world is changing. All relationships — between nations, between the political parties and the regions of America, between labor and management, between husbands and wives, parents and children, teachers and students, church and state — are in transition and contention.

All these tangles and torments in the end come eventually to the Supreme Court of the United States. What kind of Court do the people want when all the old rules and all the old members of the Supreme Court are going? And who shall decide how to choose the judges to decide?

Salvador: Dialogue First

By Stephen J. Solarz

would be to give up their arms to participate in an election organized by the guerrillas.

Another round of elections without a change in political conditions is no more likely to result in national reconciliation than the elections held last March. But if Government-sponsored death squads were disbanded and the guerrillas stopped their campaign of economic sabotage, conditions would be created in which new elections could bring the conflict to an end.

Since both the Government and the opposition are convinced they would prevail in a free and fair election, they

each have an incentive to shift the conflict from the battlefield to the ballot box. But such a settlement is only possible on the basis of a dialogue in which the fears and concerns of both sides could be addressed.

So far, Pope John Paul II, Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela and the Salvadoran opposition have all called for such discussions as a way of resolving the conflict. Yet as long as the Administration continues to oppose negotiations, and gives the Salvadoran armed forces the impression that they can continue to count on endless military assistance, it will be impossible to induce the Government of El Salvador to enter into a dialogue with the opposition. The President's call for negotiations among the countries of the region, while a step in the right direction, is no substitute for a dialogue between the parties to the conflict in El Salvador itself.

There is, of course, no guarantee that negotiations between the Government and the opposition will succeed. But they are probably the last best hope we have for a free and friendly El Salvador. Certainly a solution based on an electoral process in which

all forces and factions participate is more likely to produce a result compatible with the principles of political pluralism than an outcome based on military force in which extremists of either the left or right will probably prevail.

In fact, if the war continues at current levels of death and destruction, the Government is more likely to collapse eventually than the opposition, thereby creating a situation in which the Administration is likely to conclude that the only way to save El Salvador is to send United States combat forces into that country.

In order to avoid this tragic outcome, the Congress should insist that any additional American military aid to El Salvador be conditioned on its willingness to enter an unconditional dialogue with the opposition. The purpose of these discussions would be to bring about a cease-fire and an equitable political solution to the conflict. Only then will the people of El Salvador have an opportunity to determine their own future through an electoral process, presumably under regional or international supervision, in which all sides could have confidence.

of the armed forces, no amount of military aid is likely to do much good.

Most members of Congress agree with the Administration that neither the United States nor Salvadoran interests would be served by a guerrilla military triumph. But many members question the Administration's emphasis on military means as the way of preventing it.

The way out of the current stalemate is through a political settlement rather than a military quick fix. Many important Salvadoran civilian and military leaders recognize this. But fearful of the violence of the far right, they have hesitated to call publicly for a dialogue with the opposition that they privately believe is necessary.

The Administration says the guerrillas should relinquish their arms and agree to participate in the forthcoming elections. Such a solution, however desirable, is utterly unrealistic. In view of the slaughter of 38,000 non-combatants in the last few years, most of whom were killed by the security forces, the guerrillas are no more likely to lay down their arms to run in an election supervised by the Government than the security forces

would be to give up their arms to participate in an election organized by the guerrillas.

In Title XX, Congress clearly recognized that the growing problem of adolescent pregnancy cannot be solved by the secret and wholesale distribution of contraceptives, but that services encouraged by the Government "should promote the involvement of parents with their adolescent children." What could be more explicit an expression of intent than this? If Congress had wanted to create just another system for delivering contraceptives to adolescents, it would have put more millions into family planning under Title X. But it did not.

Adolescent family legislation obviously was intended to differentiate between services to teenagers and to adults, to help young people understand their sexuality, to encourage them to recognize the seriousness of

To Fight Teen-Age Pregnancy

By Eunice Kennedy Shriver



starting a family, to teach responsibility and to underscore the need for communication and openness between parents and children.

Conferring adult status on children 13, 14 and 15 years old by substituting professional intervention for family involvement has been a failure in such critical areas of adolescent conduct as drug and alcohol abuse. It has not worked and Congress did not intend to perpetuate it.

For years, family-planning agencies have secretly handed out contraceptives, and the rate of adolescent pregnancy has not significantly declined. Tragically, it has increased among girls under 15, who most need parental involvement in learning to deal with awakening sexuality.

Working in the field of adolescent



pregnancy for more than a decade, I have spoken to hundreds of pregnant adolescents. The chief reason that teenagers become pregnant is not that they lack access to contraception, but, as one 15-year-old said: "I'm pregnant because I want to be pregnant. I could have controlled it. I wanted a baby so I could love it and just make me feel good."

These young women engage in sex not out of grand passion but because of emotional problems, school problems, peer pressure and trouble at home. What they need most is the support and encouragement of their families, churches, community institutions — not official sanction to keep their problems hidden from their families.

In Title XX, communities were challenged to develop family-centered programs. In St. Paul, Minn., teen-agers get the chance to care for infants and young children at a day-care program so that they can gain an appreciation of parental responsibilities. In demonstration programs in Albany, N.Y., Tacoma, Wash., Elkins, W. Va., and Dorchester, Mass., parents attend training sessions with their teen-age sons and daughters. In adolescent pregnancy programs such as the one at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, research shows that when families become involved in their pregnant teen-agers' lives, the young women are more likely to stay in school, remain off welfare, get a job, develop a more positive self-image and take better care of their babies, and that they are less likely to have an early repeat pregnancy.

If this family support works with pregnant adolescents, why shouldn't it work for those not yet pregnant?

I challenge those who interpret our laws and regulations to recognize that Congress clearly intended that families be involved in decisions concerning their children's health and safety. I challenge professional family-planning agencies to reject the old idea that pregnancy can be treated only by private decisions for contraception, sterilization or abortion. I urge them to try developing new approaches to prevention of adolescent pregnancy based not on secrecy but on trust, openness, strengthening of families.

With or without the regulations that the courts have temporarily suspended, let us concentrate on positive family values and build on them instead of alienating the family from the most difficult of life's decisions and trying to solve problems with a pill.

tral America, he said, is "to replace poverty with development and dictatorship with democracy." We insist on a "legitimate road to power," not rule "without the consent of the people."

If the Reagan Administration were candid with the American people about its policy in Central America, it would say something like this:

"The governments we support in Guatemala and El Salvador do not live up to our most modest idea of decency. They murder their own citizens in large numbers, and the few rich brutally oppress the many poor. Moreover, they pay little attention to our views. Guatemala won't even let the International Red Cross look at its prisoners, and El Salvador has not convicted one official for the thousands of murders. But they are our allies against communism. They serve our strategic interest, and that is why we must support them."

The Administration will not say that — because Americans would not stand for it. We are not that kind of people. We do not want such horrors condoned in our name: not even to put down communism — if the policy would, which it will not.

And I wonder about Ronald Reagan. There is a real possibility that he believes all those hypocritical statements about how Central America would be fine if only the Communists left it alone. If he knew what was happening — if he knew that children were being murdered — would he actually want to pay that price?

WASHINGTON — President Reagan's request for \$110 million in additional emergency military assistance for El Salvador rests on assumptions and arguments that are dubious at best and deceptive at worst.

The Administration contends that without this additional assistance the Salvadoran armed forces will run out of ammunition in 60 days and the guerrillas will be at the gates of San Salvador. Yet the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas O. Enders, recently testified that there was no military "emergency" in El Salvador and a spokesman for the Salvadoran Government stated that it had "more than enough ammunition."

The truth is that the problems of the Salvadoran armed forces have much more to do with ineffective leadership and inadequate motivation than with any alleged shortage of ammunition. Indeed, in the absence of fundamental changes in the leadership and tactics

Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He visited El Salvador in January.

WASHINGTON — Old ideas never die. Unlike old soldiers, they don't even fade away. It is in the service of an old idea, that two Federal district judges have ruled against a regulation that Government-funded family-planning clinics notify parents of teen-agers who obtain prescription contraceptives.

In Manhattan, Judge Henry F. Werker based his ruling on an interpretation of what Congress intended under Title X of the Health Service Act, which encouraged, but did not make mandatory, family involvement in family-planning services for adolescents. In Washington, in a separate decision based entirely on Congressional intent, Judge Thomas A. Flannery also struck down the notification restrictions. But in 1981, Congress amended the Health Service Act, further in the family life amend-

Eunice Kennedy Shriver is executive vice president of the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation, which focuses primarily "on issues relating to mental retardation."

Campus 'Free Speech'

By John H. Bunzel

PALO ALTO, Calif. — On Feb. 15, a standing-room-only audience of students and the public came to hear the United Nations delegate, Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, deliver the first of the annual Jefferson memorial lectures on the University of California's Berkeley campus. Before they left, they watched the First Amendment take a beating.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick struggled, but failed to be heard over the din of about two dozen protestors representing the Students Against Intervention in El Salvador, some in black capes and white death masks, who began shouting: "Genocide!" "Imperialism!" "40,000 dead!"

After almost a half hour of this, Mrs. Kirkpatrick was escorted off the stage by security officers and campus officials to obscene cries and shouts of and "Klaus Barbie!" On the campus that gave birth to the Free Speech Movement 19 years ago, she was shouted down by demonstrators in behalf of "progressive people everywhere" who oppose human rights violators in El Salvador.

The ambassador returned but during the question period there was further disruption. Informed by campus security that there would likely be more trouble the next day, she canceled the second lecture.

There were no arrests. A week later, the student senate voted down a proposed apology to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, 16 to 12.

On March 2, at the University of Minnesota, a public lecture by Mrs. Kirkpatrick was also interrupted by catcalls and insults. At one point, two large Nazi flags bearing swastikas were hung down from the balcony.

A few weeks earlier, she had withdrawn as commencement speaker at Smith College after being told that demonstrations were expected and that protection would not be adequate.

Let there be no misunderstanding about who was responsible for the setback to free speech at Berkeley. Those who violated Mrs. Kirkpatrick's right to express her views belonged to those of the political wreckage on the left who believe that there are times when issues of greater urgency and higher purpose must override concerns about civil liberties. As one of the leaders of the disruption said, they had a "moral obligation to let people know she's lying." It was more important to deal with "this criminal" high on their list of political enemies than to get hung up on the First Amendment.

An "enemies list," of course, is not the exclusive possession of the political left. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy carried around in a briefcase his own list of political enemies whom he sought to silence because they did not share his various orthodoxies. But for many years, student radicals, sometimes with the support of political allies on the faculty, have refused to allow people of whom they disapprove to speak on campuses across the country. They have smeared, threatened and intimidated those who, as "enemies," dared to have different thoughts. What happened to Mrs. Kirkpatrick at Berkeley is only an

John H. Bunzel, former president of San Jose State University, is senior research fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

other instance of left-wing McCarthyism at work.

The arrogance of the demonstrators — which is always paraded as truth and virtue — is quickly revealed when they explain why they were justified in their obstructionist tactics. "This wasn't a free speech issue. We were protesting the honor accorded her," one protester said. "She represented only one point of view. The format should have been a debate." (But this is never proposed when Angela Davis and others on the left are the speakers.) Or, "Since she would provoke a confrontation, she should never have been invited." The "explanations" are not only self-serving but betray a cynicism about democratic principles that they profess to embrace. It is the kind of sophistry that subverts democracy in the name of democracy.

Someone has said that anybody can speak on a college campus who does not break the furniture. Those who disagree with a speaker's ideas may make their case known outside the halls through peaceful demonstrations — placards, picketing, vigils. They may also hire the hall to put on their own program. But they may not interfere with anyone's right to speak, or, for those who attend, their right to listen.

There is another point. The classroom or lecture hall, unlike Hyde Park (or Sproul Plaza), has standards, which, quite properly, are more stringent. Freedom of expression is not something merely to be protected; it is an intellectual necessity. The shouting and sloganeering of self-proclaimed moralists are not substitutes for thought and reflection.

Very simply, the academic community has a special responsibility to expose mindless behavior whenever it is disguised as freedom.

BOSTON, March 12 — What follows is for readers with strong stomachs.

"We were told again and again of government soldiers, in uniform, arriving at a village, rounding up men and women and shooting them."

"But they apparently don't waste bullets on children. They pick them up by the feet and smash their heads against a wall. Or they tie ropes around their necks and pull them until they are strangled. We heard of children being thrown in the air and bayoneted."

That is not a description of what happened in Cambodia years ago under the genocidal regime of Pol Pot. It is an account of what is being done right now by the Government of Guatemala — a government that has the support of the President of the United States.

The account comes from a New York lawyer, Stephen L. Kass, who has just been interviewing refugees from Guatemala. He and another specialist in Latin American affairs, Robert L. Goldman, professor of international law at American University, went to southern Mexico to speak with refugees who had recently crossed the border.

Can such horror stories really be true? I asked Mr. Kass.

"We were told this kind of thing over and over along the border," he answered. "We were told it by men, we were told it by women, we were told it by children — at different places, by people who could not have known each other."

ABROAD AT HOME

In America's Name

By Anthony Lewis

The two lawyers, who were looking into the situation for the Americas Watch Committee, interviewed refugees in Spanish at the Pacific Ocean end of the Mexican-Guatemalan border. Then they flew to airstrips in a mountainous jungle region to visit two refugee camps a mile or two from the central part of the border.

Between 50,000 and 80,000 Guatemalan peasants have fled across the border in the last year or so. The flow is continuing — several thousand have come into organized refugee camps in the last two months.

"We believe there is a continuing pattern of almost indiscriminate violence directed at Indian peasant communities," Mr. Kass said. "Any village regarded by the local army commander as not firmly supportive of government efforts to destroy subversion is regarded as subversive itself — and, as such, a free-fire zone."

"It is a level of brutality that seems unimaginable but is true."

"When survivors from these villages try to live in the hills, the army destroys their crops. We heard that

repeatedly, again from many different people. Helicopters are used to patrol the tillable areas and fire on people who try to grow things."

"And in our conversations with even the poorest Indians, they knew the United States supplied the helicopters and supported this government."

General Efraim Rios Montt installed himself as president of Guatemala in a coup last March. When President Reagan toured Latin America last year, he met General Rios Montt and rejected criticism of Guatemala's human rights record. "Frankly," Mr. Reagan said, "I'm inclined to believe they've been getting a bum rap." The Administration then announced that Guatemala would be allowed to buy spare parts for helicopters and aircraft, after years of embargo.

The reality of what government forces do in Guatemala — or for that matter the El Salvador Army's continuing butchery of civilians — contrasts almost comically with the noble images President Reagan evoked in asking Congress to send more military aid to Salvador. Our goal in Cen-

Arts & Leisure

Paris: Revamped Classics Enliven The French Stage

By THOMAS QUINN CURTISS

Despite the generous financial aid and eloquent encouragement bestowed upon it by the present government, serious French theater has a gnawing problem: it is suffering from a severe shortage of interesting plays. Furthermore, it is accused of having become a "director's theater." But what — save to resort to fresh interpretations of the classics and familiar modern authors — can it do in the absence of worthy dramatists?

Significantly, the major event of the current season is "Hamlet" in its entirety in a new translation by Raymond Lepoutre at the refurbished Théâtre de Chaillot, a theater once under the management of Jack Lang, now the Mitterrand Government's controversial Minister of Culture and still an ardent theater enthusiast. Before being promoted to ministerial office, Mr. Lang introduced Robert Wilson's "Deafman Glance" as well as America's Bread and Puppet Theater troupe to French audiences. Last

Thomas Quinn Curtiss is theater and film critic for The International Herald Tribune in Paris.

year, he appointed the nonconformist director Antoine Vitez to manage the Chaillot. Mr. Vitez's revisions of Molière, Racine and Goethe have been the cause of much controversy. His "Hamlet" is a most ambitious experiment.

"My intention," explains Mr. Vitez, "is to expose the play as Shakespeare wrote it, without the traditional baroque trappings. The tragedy's the thing. It has puzzled authorities for generations, but to me it has the clarity and the simplicity of a medieval morality play such as 'Everyman.'"

The five-hour "Hamlet" is performed amid the glistening scenery of Yannis Kokkos, inspired by the vast spatial dimensions of Gordon Craig's designs. The scene is not that of a dark, dank Denmark. Instead, the setting suggests a Spartan palace on the Aegean Sea, illuminated by startling sunshine in which a glossy, expansive stairway sparkles. In contrast, the costumes are in somber, subdued hues. Black-on-white is the overall visual impression.

The translation exactly conveys the imagery and ideas of the text, though in less lyrical language. Richard Fontana, on leave from the Comédie Française, is a prince of quicksilver comportment, demoniacal expression and gesture, and charged with barely suppressed violence. In

deed, the intense manner in which he plays the part would seem to motivate his off-stage behavior as well. Learning that a critic was present at the last rehearsal, he sought the fellow out and with histrionic haughtiness ordered the intruder to leave.

His Hamlet is given to similar emotional outbursts. He lays rough hands on Gertrude and Ophelia, dragging them about in moments of high passion, and he pounds viciously on the slain body of Polonius. Mr. Vitez believes Hamlet to be sane, but his interpreter often appears on the verge of a nervous breakdown, uttering piercing cries and rolling on the floor in rage at his impotence in accomplishing his vengeance more speedily.

As played by Aurelien Recoing, Claudius is a lecherous, treacherous villain to the last evil grimace. Others in the cast are Madeleine Marion, as a

sympathetic maternal Gertrude; Jany Gastaldi, an Ophelia of touching vulnerability; and Pierre Vial, whose doddering Polonius quacks his platitudes with satisfied relish.

Mr. Vitez has rendered a service in staging the play uncut — he believes this is the first time French audiences have had the opportunity to see it whole in their own tongue. For those with less hearty theatrical appetites, he is offering a two-hour abridged version several times a week.

Another innovative director, Ariane Mnouchkine, has also been experimenting with Shakespeare, presenting two of the Bard's plays in translations of her own, translations that retain the substance of their originals but not their mighty lines. She has staged "Richard II" with her Théâtre du Soleil company in the manner and in the costumes of the Kabuki, with the doomed king and his perfidious court made-up as Japanese. The novel notion is fetching and the production, performed upon three open stages, has majestic sweep and dazzling movement, though when the Nipponized John of Gaunt renders his lovely speech about "this scepter'd isle," one is in doubt whether his tribute is to England or to the land of the rising sun. The second Shakespeare is a la Mnouchkine is "Twelfth Night," with women in male roles, an indirect slap

words of Oscar Wilde which give the play its title, "A Map of the World" that does not include Utopia is not worth glancing at. His is not a Pauline conversion from art to commitment, but a cautious synthesis of the two.

Actually, this is a fusion, a synthesis toward which many British dramatists currently aspire, but few as successfully as Caryl Churchill. At any rate, her recent "Top Girls" and "Cloud Nine" each proved her a dramatist of imagination and crusading zeal, splendidly assured when it came to exposing (respectively) the way some women misuse their hard-won freedoms and the way almost everyone mutilates and maims his or her own sexuality.

Her new "Fen," which has just opened at a North London fringe playhouse called the Almeida, may not win quite so many friends when it moves to Joseph Papp's Public Theater in May as part of Britain's "Salute to New York." It is more local, more limited in scope. Yet it has still managed to stimulate and move its reviewers, Mr. Billington speaking for the enthusiastic majority when he called it "powerful, gritty, well worth seeing — a striking portrait of a superstitious, religion-soaked and even doom-laden countryside that Hardy or Houseman would have recognized."

The play is set in the bleak reaches of modern East Anglia. The farmers, when not actually hanging themselves, are selling their land to faceless conglomerates in London; and the peasantry is, of course, neither richer nor happier for this back-room finagling. Indeed, it sometimes seems that only the invention of Valium has made the lives of the toiling, moiling women of the village less burdensome than those of their great-grandmothers.

One woman persistently torments her stepdaughter, partly out of personal frustration, partly to goad the girl out of the chronic submissiveness typical of the community; another launches into an affair with a farm-laborer, only to succumb to despair when this loses her both children and friends. The choices the country offers its inhabitants would appear to be these: submit, and sink into emotional paralysis, or try to resist, and be destroyed.

It is glum stuff, and could be as dramatically flat and unvarying as the rectangle of soil that fills the stage whether the setting is a potato field or a farm cottage. But Miss Churchill's inventiveness and skill have not deserted her, and she proves well able to assimilate incongruous material: the raging ghost of a peasant woman; a long, entertaining anecdote from the village's collective memory; vivid, punchy encounters over the contemporary sink or ironing board.

Some critics have complained that the doubling, trebling and quadrupling of parts by the five-woman, one-man cast causes confusion, and so it sometimes does. But the performers are all members of the Joint Stock Theater Group, which is generally and justly regarded as the finest "fringe" company in Britain, and the characterization is sharper and more various than a first glance at the program might lead one to fear. Besides, 20-odd parts add up to a whole community laid bare — an achievement in itself.

his antagonist of a disdain akin to spiritual death — and then goes off to what turns out to be his own, literal death in a train crash.

Several critics have found this off-stage martyrdom somewhat corny, especially as it has the equally unlikely effect of restoring to Mehta some of his lost idealism. "This feeling that we may change things — that is the center of everything we are," he ends by intoning. "Lose that, lose everything."

There is room elsewhere, too, for objection to Mr. Hare's handling of plot and structure. For instance, his way of adding tension and spice to the ideas under discussion is to introduce a not very credibly characterized American actress to promise herself as a sort of sexual trophy to whichever of the two combatants wins the final debate. Mr. Hare also uses the less-than-original device of the play-within-a-play or, in this case, play-within-a-film. The events in Bombay are being somewhat ineptly recreated for a commercial movie.

For Mr. Hare's principal attacker, James Fenton of The Sunday Times, this is little more than an easy alibi: "If a speech sounds banal or improbably contrived, we must always wonder whether this is the fault of the author or the fictional screenwriter."

But it surely adds a degree of doubt and uncertainty to much else, too. Again, the actress's presence allows Mr. Hare to emphasize the extent to which Mehta and Andrews are impelled by personal motives: anger, envy and sexual pique.

Thus the play is at once a discussion and a demonstration of the untrustworthiness of art, and indeed of life itself. Everything it touches, from men to their works to their beliefs, is subjected to interrogation-in-depth. All assertions, whether about the novel, the Third World, or anything else, are there to be contradicted. In other words, the play's content is more sophisticated than its form and framework might make it seem. It is, so to speak, better than its plot.

The author is also the director, and has secured generally admired performances from Bill Nighy as Stephen and especially Roshan Seth, who plays Nehru in the movie "Gandhi" and who now portrays a graceful, fastidious Mehta. Certainly, each acts subtly enough to explain Mr. Hare's irritation at being told by the critics that his sympathies were overwhelmingly with just one of them. There is clearly much of him in both characters, and, if so self-questioning a play can be said to reach a resolution, it is presumably to be found in a fusion of the one's honesty, the other's hopefulness.

Hence the reformed Mehta of the end, who is still contemptuous of lies, still keen to demolish them, but perhaps prepared to concede that, in the

Benedict Nightingale writes frequently on theater in London.



A scene from the innovative five-hour "Hamlet" staged by Antoine Vitez at the Théâtre de Chaillot in Paris—a most ambitious experiment and the major event of the current season

which the great composer materializes in the home of a modern English drama critic, is having its world premiere at the Madeleine; the British farce "Noises Off," by Michael Frayn, is a hit at the Bouffes-Parisiens, and Bernard Slade's "Romantic Comedy" is another success at the Palais-Royal.

With the dearth of new native plays, the music hall has returned to high favor. There is scarcely a star of vaudeville, of the *chansonnier* or of television who has not made a "personal appearance" this season, and every one of them has drawn packed houses.

Among those at present offering one-man shows are the burly, boisterous clown Raymond Devos (at the Montparnasse); Thierry Le Luron, covering the political scene "from de Gaulle to Mitterrand" with his waspish wit (at the Marigny); Guy Bedos in a series of skits (at the Gymnase), and Bernard Haller, a dry humorist of black comedy (at the Bobino).

Johnny Hallyday filled the vast Palais des Sports for eight weeks and is now off on a national tour. Henri Salvador, after a 12-year absence, returned in triumph for a prosperous engagement in a circus tent on the Paris outskirts. Most amazing of all has been the belated comeback of Tino Rossi, the romantic crooner of the 1930's. His reappearance at the Casino de Paris brought out all his elderly fans, many of them arriving from clinics for the aged. He is now 75 and of diminished vocal projection, but this made no difference to his cheering followers.

The French theater of the moment has superlative artists, venturesome directors and a public hungry for novelty and entertainment. But like the theater in New York and London, it is anxiously waiting for the only element capable of bringing it to full flower: playwrights of skill, imagination and ideas.

London: Hare and Churchill

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

David Hare's "Plenty" received distinctly uneven reviews when it opened at the National Theater in 1977, and the arrival on the same stage of the first full-length play he has written since then, "A Map of the World," has been marked by even sharper ups and downs of critical opinion. But its author hasn't meekly submitted to the grapple. On the contrary, Mr. Hare has turned on the hunters, publicly pronouncing them and their standards "dismal."

"I still have the unfashionable belief that critics should try to see plays as they are, in their fullness," Mr. Hare wrote in The Guardian, "and not concentrate solely on those parts which flatter their prejudices." But this, he suggested, was precisely what even the more favorable reviewers had done.

His attack was a trifle unjust to The Guardian itself, whose reviewer, Michael Billington, had proclaimed "Map of the World" "the most mature and moving of Hare's works to date — a rich and complex play built around a series of antitheses: the Third World and the West, fiction and reality, irony and commitment, reason and passion, the personal and the political." But it is probably true that some of Mr. Billington's colleagues over-hastily identified Mr. Hare himself with the views expressed by one or another of his two main characters, a cynical right-wing novelist and a churchly left-wing journalist.

When these two meet, in Bombay at a UNESCO conference on poverty, it is distaste at first sight. The novelist, called Victor Mehta (in whom some reviewers noted a veiled resemblance to V. S. Naipaul), urbanely denounces Marx, Castro and young, rootless civilizations, meaning America, Australia and most of Africa. Only Chou En-lai escapes his sweeping strictures, "because he alone of the Chinese leaders had the iron self-control not to publish his own poetry."

The response of the journalist, Stephen Andrews, apart from accusing Mehta of callousness, smugness and much else, is to go away and organize a protest of delegates against the novelist's impending appearance on the podium. Mehta must publicly recant the satires he's written about Third World corruption, or there will be a mass walkout, the conference will collapse, and the poor of the earth will be the losers.

It is an interesting dilemma. Should the individual artist be prepared to some extent to sacrifice his integrity for the good of the many? Must his right to report what he sees always be paramount? Is objective truth a human possibility anyway? Isn't the most truthful observation, such as Mehta takes pride in offering, invariably selective, incomplete, and informed by unadmitted bias?

These questions, and many others, have all been raised by the time the novelist and journalist cross swords in a second, decisive encounter. Mehta argues for art as a glimmer of honesty in an almost irretrievably corrupt world. Andrews puts the case for commitment, hope and change, accuses

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The Post's Wolf Blitzer describes a State Department report on forced labour in the Soviet Union

SINGLING OUT THE JEWS

THE STATE Department released a remarkable document last month detailing the Soviet Union's forced labour practices.

"All societies have some form of incarceration and, indeed, most attempt to employ prisoners in some form of gainful activity," the 24-page report said in its introduction. "The vast Soviet forced labour system, however, is distinguished by its large scale and the harshness by which it operates to threaten and punish those who are convicted of violating Soviet law, including those who attempt to assert freedom of speech, assembly or religion."

The document noted that many Soviet citizens have suffered in the forced labour camps, but it officially confirmed what had long been suspected — namely, that Jews anxious to identify with their religion, culture and heritage have been targeted for special treatment.

"While all religious denominations without exception are bound by the restrictions... enforcement of the law is carried out with special severity against the Soviet Jewish community," it said. "Along among the recognized religious groups in the USSR, Soviet Jews have no functioning seminary for the train-

ing of clergy, no authorized religious publications, no national organization, and no approved ties with co-religionists abroad."

The State Department report included a moving letter, dated October 25, 1982, from the wife of a 44-year-old Soviet Jewish political prisoner, refusednik Alexander Paritsky.

An oceanographer by training, Paritsky was accused of having distributed slanderous fabrications denigrating the Soviet state and social system. In her letter, his wife gave details of the ordeal her husband and other prisoners in the Vydrino Camp had to endure. Here are some excerpts:

"He was placed under special, constant supervision. Approximately 2,000 prisoners are held in the Vydrino camp. There, tuberculosis and [other] diseases are endemic. Last year, the death rate reached 2 per cent, and there were many traumatic cases, since hygienic rules and techniques were not observed.

"The bodies of many prisoners were covered with perforated ulcers. Their clothing stuck to their bodies and had to be ripped off along with their skin. The prisoners are denied quality medical assistance... In the section of the barracks where my husband lives, about 75 persons are housed in one room.

"At the end of June 1982, the chief of the zone, Major N.N. Anikeev, called my husband in and demanded that he publicly recant and repudiate the idea of emigrating from the Soviet Union. When my husband refused to comply with this demand, Anikeev cynically said that it made no difference, that he would force him to recant.

"Since the end of July, they have transferred my husband to work in the zone's so-called local industry and have assigned him to the job of transporting gun-carriage plates weighing as much as 200 kilos. Two unidentified persons travelled to the camp each day to ensure that my

"My husband is undergoing the tortures of hunger, cold and work beyond his endurance."

husband did only this work.

"On August 22, when my husband began to talk about himself at our meeting, they interrupted it, seized him, and put him in punitive solitary confinement for 15 days. Punitive solitary confinement occurs in a cell in the camp site. Food is provided every other day. All warm clothing and underwear are confiscated. Bed linens are not provided. During the day, the sleeping area is cleaned. There, it is very cold, and even at night it is impossible to get warm."

Mrs. Paritskaya went on to point out that since then her husband has been moved in and out of solitary confinement.

"I declare," she wrote, "that my husband is undergoing the tortures of hunger, cold, and work beyond his endurance. They threaten him now with a new trial and a transfer to a prison regime. During the last two months, I have not received any letters from my husband, although his correspondence is not restricted. Even a package of warm clothing sent to him was returned. They subject him to all these insults to force him publicly to repudiate emigration to Israel. My husband at present finds himself in the position of a hostage."

ALEXANDER PARITSKY's case, while tragic, is by no means unusual in today's Soviet Union. This was underlined in a separate State Department document describing the USSR's miserable record last year in complying with universal human rights.

"The mistreatment of prisoners continues in terms of inadequate

food, clothing, and shelter, heavy manual labour, unsatisfactory medical care, isolation, extended interrogations, and threats against their families," it said. "The Soviet government continues to confine some dissidents to special psychiatric hospitals and to psychiatric wards in general hospitals, where they are subjected to a variety of cruel and degrading treatments, including doses of powerful and painful drugs."

Again, the State Department noted, while many Soviet citizens are subjected to such treatment, Jews seem to suffer the most.

This is particularly true right now, as Jewish emigration figures have plummeted to their lowest levels since 1970. In January, for example, only 81 Jews were permitted to leave, and in February no more than 123.

The 1982 total came to only 2,688 — a far cry from the more than 51,000 who left in 1979. The U.S.

government has estimated that as many as 300,000 Soviet Jews currently possess letters of invitation necessary for application to emigrate.

SOVIET JEWRY has been a prominent issue for the Reagan administration. Secretary of State George Shultz and other senior U.S. officials are known to have raised the matter during virtually every important meeting they have had with their Soviet counterparts. Shultz, in particular, is quite sensitive to and knowledgeable about the problem, curiously enough having focused on it rather extensively during his years at the Bechtel Construction Company in San Francisco. He even used to go out of his way to hire Soviet Jewish engineers at Bechtel.

The importance attached to the issue by the administration is reflected in the fact that Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, and Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will be among the 500 American representatives at this week's international conference on Soviet Jewry in Jerusalem.

THE UNEXPECTED, almost "unnatural" harshness of this winter has kept people busy talking about the snow and hail in the hills and the enormous "downpours." Rainfall is well over the yearly average. February and early March have seen frequent night frosts. This has meant that gardeners in most areas have not been as busy with outdoor activities as would normally be expected.

In the second half of this month, we should make up what we couldn't do until now to ensure a satisfying spring and summer garden. The season demands that a number of the routine activities be done.

Hoeing and weeding should be first on the agenda — in every part of the garden. Use a garden-fork, spade or a hoe and turn up the soil. This deep-digging and burying of weeds not only provides air for the subsoil, but also "green manure." This action will keep the ground in good condition and the weeds under control. After digging, level the ground by raking, and then you will be ready for sowing and planting.

No doubt, many readers of this column are as impatient as I am to do something to make their gardening daydreams come true. Let's hope that the second half of March and early April, the most decisive period in gardening, will bring plenty of warmth and sunshine.

Vegetables: The following vegetables and kitchen herbs may be grown now in all parts of this country: radishes, kohlrabi, carrots, parsley, dill, chives, leeks, peas, broad-beans, beetroot, lettuce, marrows, cucumbers.

Sow thinly to avoid overcrowding. Water regularly during rainless spells. When you thin out later, you may save plucked seedlings of lettuce, kohlrabi, beetroot, parsley and leeks and transplant them; seedlings from the other vegetables mentioned give only inferior results when transplanted. Throw them onto the compost heap.

Buy half a kilo to a kilo (according to available space) of onion bulbets and sow them just now, either in a herb corner or as a green border around other vegetable beds. Or use the bulbets as "intercroppings" between lettuce or kohlrabi. Onion bulbets may also be grown in containers.

Set them out in fortnightly intervals in order to harvest green onions all summer long. If you don't find bulbets choose the smallest onions your greengrocer has and sow them or cut bigger ones in half for the same purpose.

It's too late now for cabbages and too early for beans. If you didn't prepare seedlings of tomatoes, eggplants and peppers in February, it's high time to do so. Sow in frames or seed boxes and cover with glass or plastic sheets at night and when the weather is bad. In view of the high price of tomatoes, every amateur gardener, even someone with limited space, should grow his own — nothing is easier.

Lilies. Many amateur gardeners

CATCHING UP

GARDENER'S CORNER
Walter Frankl



Lily drawing from the 16th century.

wonder how to best use shaded or partly shaded spots in their gardens. My suggestion is lily bulbs. Various kinds will soon appear in seed shops and nurseries. March and April are usually the ideal time to set out lily bulbs. The one exception is *Lilium candidum*, or the Madonna lily, which should be planted in September. Examine bulbs carefully. They should be firm and not prematurely sprouting.

It is important to cultivate the ground thoroughly and to provide good drainage before planting bulbs. Dig a large hole, about 20-30 cm. deep. The subsoil should be loosened and mixed with compost. The addition of other organic fertilizer — dry cow manure, guano or bone-meal — is also highly beneficial. Some sand, peat or vermiculite should be added to prevent the lily bulb from coming into contact with the organic plant food. Fill in the hole over the bulb and firm the soil slightly.

The importance of providing cool conditions for lily roots cannot be over-emphasized. "Head in the sun, feet in the shade" is an oft-quoted maxim for lily cultivation. And in Israel, lilies confront the heat of hamsin days in spring and early summer.

A cooling effect can be provided by organic mulches such as leaf-mold, dry pine needles or well decayed compost. Mulches also provide an excellent means of weed control. In sunny garden spots, a more natural and pleasing way of giving lilies "cool feet" is the use of a carefully selected annual ground-cover.

Ground-covers produce a carpet of beauty in foliage and flowers; if not deep-rooting, they are ideal companions for lilies.

Petunias are an excellent choice with their vast array of colours. Portulacas provide a perfect multi-coloured carpet. Other choices are *agrostis*, available in light-blue, pink, purple and white, and *sweet alyssum*, a long-blooming white or purple annual especially suitable for carpeting. All these annuals can be grown from seed.

There are also perennial, shallow-rooting ground-covers, which may fit into the lily bed. I say "lily bed" because these flowers do best when left undisturbed for several years in the same spot. The most suitable perennial creepers are *Verbena canadensis*, available at local nurseries in many colour variations,

and *Ayuga reptans*, the blue flowering carpet-bug with metallic, shining purple leaves. Others are the succulent, cactus-like *sedums*, the pink flowering *axilis* and the popular violets (*Viola odorata*), which will not only cover and cool the ground, but will also spread their seeds everywhere in the vicinity and will flower again and again every winter and spring. The cooling effect of shade can also be provided by the overhanging branches of trees and shrubs.

Whatever your choice, properly selected lilies in different colours and shapes, together with the proper companions, will add much beauty to your garden.

Carnations. Spicy-sweet, the carnation never seems to lose its popularity. It has been valued and grown as an annual or perennial for generations.

Carnation seedlings can be purchased almost any time of the year. Though this plant can be grown from seed, this method is very slow, and not always successful. Cuttings are easier and provide longer-lasting results. Take cuttings in early autumn or in spring. "Air-layering" is another means of propagation but the easiest and quickest way to get carnation flowers is to buy ready seedlings from the nursery.

Before planting, enrich the soil with compost, some animal manure and a sprinkling of complete garden fertilizer. Superphosphate and bone-meal are also recommended. Carnations must be staked by the time they are 20 cm tall.

Remove spent flower stalks to promote further blooming. If you want bigger flowers, some of the buds may be removed. Spray prophylactically (malathion solution) against aphids and water the bed from time to time with a liquid fungicide to prevent rust and mildew.

Fuchsias. Just now is the time for fuchsia cuttings. Kevin Heinze, an Australian garden expert, recommends this method of growing fuchsias from small cuttings. Take tip cuttings, not more than 5 cm. long, remove the bottom leaves and insert this section into a mixture of 3 parts sand to one part peat or vermiculite.

Fuchsia cuttings don't need special heating arrangements for rooting, but polythene sheets over the frame or seed box will create humidity and prevent the seedlings from drying out. As fuchsias grow rapidly, they need follow-up, feedings during spring, summer and autumn. I know from my own experience that fuchsias always bring grace and beauty to the garden and

do so for many, many years.

A FRIEND who returned recently from Australia brought me a package of sweet melon seeds, the product of perhaps the best and biggest seed company in the world, Thomson & Morgan. It has been in the business for 125 years. On the package's envelope, I read: "Rock melon Ha-Ogen" — an Israeli original. This melon was long jealously guarded and with reason.

It is an entirely new experience in taste, indescribable, warmth, richness and aromatic sweetness of flavour. This melon plant bears many mini-sized fruits, ideal for families. Each vine should produce more than 10 melons. Given plenty of water, vines will flourish in a sunny, warm spot. Harvest from mid-summer on. The Ha-Ogen is rich in vitamin A and also contains several B vitamins and vitamin C.

my brother's keeper



The euphoria that accompanies *olim* often gives way to culture shock. Successful absorption of the *oleh* through direct community involvement is one of the important tasks of the Ality Department of the Jewish Agency. Therefore, the Department has set up the unit My Brother's Keeper to recruit and channel volunteers as well as coordinate their activities with *olim*, to work in cooperation with and complement the services provided by the various immigrant associations, and national and local services (absorption, child-care, military service, education, employment, finance, health, social security) and to assist the *oleh* in his initial absorption into the fabric of Israel.

To date some 25 "store fronts" have been opened throughout the country, from Nazareth to Ofakim, largely operated by volunteers offering information, advice, and a sympathetic ear to *olim*. And once an *oleh* moves into permanent housing, the Unit puts him in contact with a volunteer who speaks his native language.

My Brother's Keeper is an extension of the Advocacy Office *Peniyot Hatzibur* of the Ality Department. Its personalized and professional services are meant to provide the *oleh* with a feeling of belonging and of being wanted and needed in Israel and his new community. It is hoped that by reducing much of the tension related to settling in problems, discontent will be minimized. The Advocacy Office, operating in Israel's four main cities, is staffed by professional, multilingual personnel. Its principal functions include providing *olim* and prospective *olim* with up-to-date information about their privileges and handling their complaints in a positive manner and on a personal level, based on the principle that it is the right and duty of the *oleh* to air any grievance.

In the case of *oleh* families contemplating leaving Israel, the office is eager to intervene and attend to the cause of their discontent, thereby helping in the fight against *yerida*. No effort is spared to foster good-will between the *olim* and the local populace as well as tolerance and understanding. The long-term aim is to turn the *oleh* himself into a volunteer as soon as possible.

We can and should help each other.

EACH OF US IS OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER.

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Combustible material

THERE IS no confirmation yet of the police suspicion that there was a conspiracy to kill Interior and Police Minister Yosef Burg. But after the murder by hand grenade of Emil Grunzweig at a Peace Now rally just over one month ago, the possibility of such a conspiracy can no longer be considered as merely bizarre — as something that just could not happen in this country — and it is said that the police are investigating a possible link.

The suspicion alone is evidence how far the culture of violence has spread throughout Israel. The plot to storm and occupy the Temple Mount is another piece of evidence. Had that plot not been nipped in the bud by the police, it too might have had lethal results. But perhaps the most worrisome aspect of this "conspiracy to harm a holy site" is that its authors were not, as it now appears, despite their gathering at the Old City home of a Meir Kahane lieutenant, themselves members of Kach, the notorious racist fringe group.

The 38 plotters, who are also to be charged with "incitement to rebellion," were clean-cut Jewish youths, several of them students at a respectable Kiryat Arba yeshiva hesder. Their way of thinking, it seems, was essentially typical of settler mentality in the West Bank.

In the settlers' mind — especially in the mind of those among them who are affiliated with Gush Emunim — their territory is not merely flesh of Eretz Yisrael's flesh, but its very heart, whose possession alone makes sense of the body politic that used to be known as the State of Israel. The deliverance — not occupation — of Judea and Samaria, together with Gaza, was the most meaningful event in the country's modern history, and any idea of ceding so much as a square inch of it, even for peace, is morally, not to say theologically, anathema.

To keep the territory intact, and to keep it Jewish, no holds must be barred, and no opposition brooked. If the result is violence, then so be it. It will, in any case, only be counter-violence.

Israel's government is not directly responsible for what is often termed the excesses of the settlers, nor can it be held directly accountable for the Temple Mount plot. Official policy is to bar Jews from taking over the Moslem holy site, or even praying on it. Jordan's allegation that the government was in cahoots with the conspirators is a vicious libel.

But it is the government that has been plastering Judea and Samaria with settlements whose very raison d'être is to assure the permanent Judaization of the territory, regardless of consequences. Official spokesmen frequently talk of the irreversibility of the process of settlement under any future government. By this they do not mean only that the ceding of the territory would be opposed by so many Jewish settlers in newer Israel forming a powerful democratic lobby.

They also mean — or at least they imply — that the settlers would, by force if need be, in cooperation with like-minded Jews in older Israel, prevent any intended swap of land for peace. What these spokesmen are saying, in effect, is that every future government that might think of changing the present policy of territorial intransigence, should consider the settlements as so many sticks of dynamite under the foundations of the Third Commonwealth.

Today, the government may brand as criminals those who seek to capture the Temple Mount, let alone those who conspire to kill political opponents. But it cannot escape responsibility for the culture of extremism that has spawned them.

Dry Bones



POSTSCRIPTS

WE DID nothing to deserve it, but a group calling itself the Worldwide Congregation of Ancient Orthodox Judaism in Mesa, Arizona, has sent us a "Fellow Builder Certificate," indicating that The Jerusalem Post has contributed to the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem.

In the letter which accompanied the certificate, the group says that

the money is for cutting and storing the stones for the Temple, so that the building work can be done quickly when the time comes. They have also appointed a high priest, a certain Moshe Cohen, who lives in Lod. The Post was unable to locate the Cohen in question and thus ascertain whether he was aware of the honour which had been bestowed upon him.

M.S.

THE CANDIDACY of Supreme Court Justice Prof. Menachem Elon for the presidency is the most serious breach of the separation of powers, the basis for the independence of the judiciary, in Israel's history. Never before has a sitting judge, without resigning, been placed in a political race.

Suppose he loses. Could Justice Elon return to the bench, having linked his fortunes with the Knesset's present slender majority? Proposed by Hanan Porat of Tebiya, adopted by Menachem Begin's Likud, and suitably anointed by the coalition's clerical appendages, what remains of the judicial mystique?

The lack of judgment in Mr. Begin's telephoned proposal to a sitting justice, just returned from chambers, should be obvious. He was not proposing to Justice Elon simply that he be president (although such a proposal itself is not without its problems). He was proposing that Justice Elon run for the presidency.

The most charitable explanation of Justice Elon's acceptance is that he understood that his election would not be contested. Only election by acclamation could excuse, if not justify, the serious breach of judicial independence that has occurred.

Even if Justice Elon were to

A lapse of judgment

By ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

resign from the court before the date set for the presidential balloting, the damage has already been done. A judge has no superior, other than the law. He is subject to the direction of no man. A candidate has a superior and is subject to direction. Justice Elon's sponsors and the Knesset majority will make one very important decision for him.

The late Justice Olshan went so far in his battle against even the hint of politicization in the judiciary that he prohibited judges from participating in social functions organized by political parties. The only remedy for the excessive party fanaticism characteristic of Israel, in his opinion, was to root firmly in the public consciousness the sense that judges in Israel cannot be members of any party, open or concealed, active or inactive.

THE ELECTION to the office of president is something more than a party social function. It is a political contest. The relevant strength and prestige of the government coalition and of the opposition will be af-

fect by the outcome of the balloting.

The supposed apolitical character of the office of the presidency is irrelevant. If the elections were for the office of president of the Bar Association or of any non-political professional organization, it would be improper for a judge to be a candidate, if the elections were held on the basis of party endorsement. To be the candidate of Tebiya, the Likud and the other components of the Knesset coalition is to assume a political posture. Candidate for what does not matter.

Nor can the example of Benjamin Halevi, who went from the court to the Knesset, serve as precedent. Halevi resigned first from the bench. Indeed, he would have been disqualified by law from being a candidate for the Knesset while a sitting judge.

The lack of a similar disqualification in the basic law of the presidency is also irrelevant. The disqualification in the law of the Knesset is for the protection of the Knesset. Here the problem is the protection of the institution that the

candidate is coming from — in this case, the court — rather than the institution he is seeking to enter.

President Navon has voluntarily imposed on himself a cooling-off period after the presidency, and there have been a rash of proposals from coalition supporters to make such an absence from public view mandatory. Does not the same rationale apply to the post-judicial activities of a Supreme Court justice, whether or not the law so requires?

THAT THE electoral contest for the presidency is a political event cannot be doubted. Nor should the political aspects of our supposedly ceremonial presidency be overlooked. The president's choice of the prime minister-designate could involve a real exercise of discretion. Eliahu Likhovski has pointed out, "either where the possibility exists of two parties forming alternative coalitions, or where the party most likely to form a government has two aspirants to leadership." Neither situation is so far-fetched.

Moreover, where no single party commands a majority, it may be part of the duty of the president actively to assist in the negotiations leading to the coalition agreement. President Katzir was reported to have favoured the creation of a government of national unity at one point during his incumbency, as did President Navon. Had conditions created a political stalemate, the presidential office does not lack power to further such a presidential objective.

The Navon presidency has raised the question of the presidency as a springboard to the very summit of political power. Certainly the possibility exists. The framers of the basic law of the presidency indicated their assessment of the political power of the office by prescribing an American-style two-term limitation.

The political potential of the presidency, even without an expansion of the formal powers of the office, demands mature, political wisdom. Lack of political experience is a serious disqualification.

Keeping the presidency a non-political symbol of the national consensus takes sophisticated political know-how. Without it, there are likely to be lapses of judgment, such as that which has brought Justice Elon to the threshold of the office.

The writer, a member of Kibbutz Degania Aleph, is a political scientist.

All-important efforts

By HARRY J. LIPKIN

activity: Putting pressure on the Soviet authorities to release Soviet Jews. Helping refuseniks to continue their struggle during a difficult waiting period. Helping the families of refuseniks to adjust and providing assistance in their work for the release of relatives.

MANY PEOPLE dismiss the possibility of exerting pressure on the Soviets by saying that it only depends on getting Reagan to put pressure on Andropov. But pressure can be exerted at all levels in the Soviet hierarchy.

The Russians have other problems besides Soviet Jewry, and many are much more important and have higher priority. We exert pressure whenever we can show the Russians that they are losing something more important by harassing Soviet Jews.

In the fall of 1982, Andrei Sakharov was almost a forgotten

man in Gorki. The Russians were succeeding in isolating him and keeping his views from reaching the Soviet people and the world. His letters received little attention when they were smuggled out of the Soviet Union. He sent a long letter on the suppression of human rights and on his own condition to a well-known physics professor in America. But no major newspaper or magazine would publish it, because the standard suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union and the mistreatment of Sakharov was no longer news.

The Soviet strategy was clear. Wait until the West gets tired of all this dissident and refusenik business. Then the KGB will be able to do as they please, without notice or interference from abroad. Sakharov found the way to get back into the headlines. He went on a hunger strike because his daughter-in-law Lisa was not allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join her husband in the U.S.

The Western media went wild about the human interest story of a poor girl who wanted to join her husband, and whose only crime had been to marry a man whose mother married Sakharov when her son was a grown man.

The Soviets were trapped, besieged from all sides with a simple question: "Why don't you let this poor girl go? They had no answer, and couldn't even find a standard Soviet lie, like calling Anatoly Shcharansky a CIA agent. Whenever their representatives abroad wanted to talk about important things to important people, they found themselves having to give evasive answers to the question

"Why don't you let this poor girl go?"

SAKHAROV'S TACTICS showed a deep understanding of how the Soviet system works and of the psychology and the media in the West. His victory went far beyond the simple liberation of his daughter-in-law. He lost no time in using the limelight in the media to call the world's attention again to the despicable treatment of human rights in the Soviet Union and to give more publicity to the plight of dissidents and refuseniks.

We can apply the same tactics at lower levels. The West is full of Soviet scientists, engineers, administrators and even KGB agents who have their own missions and don't want to be bothered by questions about refuseniks.

If the friendly KGB agent who wants to make contacts with important people, gather intelligence information and spread misinformation finds that he is wasting half of his time being badgered with questions about Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky, he will not like it and report this to his superiors.

The media in the West are important to the Russians. They don't want headlines about refuseniks putting their propaganda on the back pages. Everything that we can do to keep interest and publicity about the refuseniks alive in the West eventually helps to put pressure on the Soviet authorities. They must be constantly bombarded with questions from their own agents: "Why don't you let this poor girl or fellow go? It's interfering with my mission. What are we gaining from all this?"

Last December, during Sakharov's hunger strike, his relatives here in Israel asked me to help organize a demonstration against Soviet Nobel Laureate Nikolai G. Basov, an outspoken leader in the denunciations of Sakharov, who was about to attend an international conference on lasers in the U.S.

I did not find any Israelis going to that conference, but sent telegrams telling of Basov's visit to friends, including Prof. Morris Pripstein of the University of California at Berkeley, chairman of SOS (Scientists for Sakharov, Orlov and Shcharansky).

Professor Pripstein did not know anyone attending the laser conference, but found out that Basov was attending another conference in San Francisco. A demonstration by prominent American scientists, including one Nobel Laureate, was described by large articles with pictures in the two major newspapers and by smaller articles in six other local papers.

Pripstein sent copies to me with a letter: "Enclosed are the press clippings of our demonstration against Basov, which we organized as a result of your telegrams to us. We didn't know he was coming since the organizers of the conference in San Francisco tried to keep it quiet. We learned from sources who were in contact with Basov afterwards that he was extremely upset about our demonstration."

One cannot know how much demonstrations and publicity really help. But one of my prized possessions is a photograph of Andrei Sakharov, taken in Gorki, inscribed "to Harry, true friend, from Sakharov's family."

As long as they think that these efforts are helpful, and such efforts at least give moral support to the dissidents and refuseniks, I shall continue to do what I can.

The writer is a professor of physics at the Weizmann Institute and a member of the Scientists Committee of the Israel Public Council for Soviet Jewry.

READERS' LETTERS

ISRAEL BONDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — During the recent El Al fiasco, it was pointed out, and rightly so, that El Al was more than just an airline, it was and is a symbol to the world as a whole, and to the Diaspora Jews specifically. Symbols, and the pride associated with them, are of a value that cannot be reduced to dollars or marks or shekels.

Israel Bonds are no less an important symbol than El Al. To increase the minimum bond available from \$250 to \$500 or to as much as \$1,000 would effectively destroy the symbolic value of these bonds. While I am quite content to invest \$500 in a bond from time to time, and while I can convince my children that their \$250 investment is a morally and

financially sound investment, an increase in minimum size would effectively eliminate many potential investors — particularly the young.

To save this important symbol, there is one very obvious answer. Keep the lower value bonds, \$250 if possible, \$500 otherwise, and reduce the interest rate paid on these bonds by enough to cover much of the added costs mandated by new U.S. laws. I believe, perhaps naively, that a one or two per cent decrease in interest rates on these smaller denomination bonds would have only a minor impact on sales, yet would keep intact a rather important symbol to the Diaspora Jews.

ALAN I. SCHNEIDER
 Farmington Hills, Michigan.

CANCER IN OUR SOCIETY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The sickness of our society is well illustrated by Lila Brodsky's letter of February 22 in which she draws comparisons between the media's treatment of the killings of Emil Grunzweig and Esther Ohana respectively. The tragic death of Esther Ohana occurred whilst driving through an area of the West Bank which is hostile to the IDF's presence, and came about, very unluckily, as a result of a rock thrown by an Arab extremist. A tragedy without question.

Emil Grunzweig was attending a peaceful demonstration of the Peace Now movement. The attacks on the demonstrators which

culminated in Emil's death were perpetrated by a group of Jews whose aim and actions were intended to break up a peaceful meeting and muzzle the most basic freedom of all, the freedom of speech. It was not an irresponsible youth throwing a rock in defiance, but probably Jewish thugs throwing a murderous hand grenade into a Jewish crowd whose views happened to differ from their own.

The press are exposing and fighting this viciousness, which has crept like a cancer into our society; it is their right and duty to do so.

GEOFFREY TOLLMAN
 Kfar Shmaryahu.

PLO EXCESSES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The writer of the letter on PLO excesses (March 4) has deliberately forgotten that the "excesses" of the Irgun were committed solely in fighting British army and police personnel.

The PLO "in their despair" fought and murdered civilians (Olympic sportsmen, for example) and innocent children (Ma'alot, for example). Such deeds by the PLO are innumerable.

Or has history (and Mr. Timothy Keyte) already conveniently forgotten such incidents?

S. HALLSIDE

Netanya.

ARGUS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Even the worthy Philip sometimes nods. I refer to Philip Gillon who, in his Telereview of March 4, wrote that "the dog Argus had a hundred eyes." Argus was a hundred-eyed giant, the guardian of Io, not a dog.

There was, however, also a dog (two-eyed) by the same name — the one who joyously welcomed his master Odysseus upon his return.

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International Cultural Centre for Youth in Jerusalem will hold its

Annual Prize Awards Ceremony

in the names of
 Prof. Alexander M. Dushkin.
 Mr. Herbert Armstrong.
 Mr. Moshe Kol
 and Maestro Arthur Rubinstein
 on Tuesday, March 15, 1983 at 6.30 p.m.
 The public is invited.
 12 Rehov Emek Refaim, buses no. 4, 14, 18.